# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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## Central Eurasia

*FBIS-SOV-92-041* 2 March 1992

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## Yeltsin Visits Arzamas; Holds News Conference

*LD2802215992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2020 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Text] [Announcer] Boris Yeltsin visited the Arzamas-16 atomic city today. On arrival, right at the aircraft, he held an impromptu news conference.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] [video shows Yeltsin speaking to a group of people near an airplane] A little while ago, about a month ago—yes, on 21 January—a large group of us gathered—nuclear and atomic specialists and production staff—to examine a whole range of problems concerning their production arrangements, their scientific work, social protection, questions about reducing and destroying nuclear weapons, and about the further conversion of these production facilities, given that they are mainly geared to work that began in 1946. Things are such that all of this has to become federal property and a special federal center has to be established here, a nuclear center. I have brought with me a decree for the transformation of the All-Union Experimental Physics Research Institute into a Russian nuclear center—federal property situated in Arzamas-16. The same applies to Chelyabinsk-70. At present this is one of our most important problems and tasks since, of course, proposals on reduction should be expressed theoretically, but how to do so technically? That is very difficult and not simple. It is necessary to consult specialists and scientists and to see how they live. What I promised you with regard to social protection and wage increases—I have brought the draft of the appropriate decree and I think I will sign it here.

[Woman] Do you yourself believe physicists can go away somewhere?

[Yeltsin] No, I do not. I do not believe, at least, that it will be mass...[Yeltsin changes thought] Their life is special, generally speaking. They are like cosmonauts. Therefore they should be treated specially. Perhaps a few will go, but these few in some country somewhere will not solve any large-scale problem with regard to the production of nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, they need to be protected—they have earned this through their self-sacrificing life over many decades.

[Man] Boris Nikolayevich, could you say whether you think these towns should remain closed in the future?

[Yeltsin] We will consider this today together with the town soviet and these enterprises. [end recording]

[Announcer] Until recently, a top-secret center for the development of nuclear weapons, officially called the Experimental Physics Research Institute, was situated in Nizhniy Novgorod oblast. In the near future it is planned to be transformed into an international center for the development of laser, nuclear, and other forward-looking technology for peaceful purposes. But first, a traditional visit to a supermarket.

[Begin recording] [video shows Yeltsin in supermarket surrounded by people] [Woman] Have you bought anything, Boris Nikolayevich?

[Yeltsin] There are so many people that I cannot buy anything. But shops here are better than in Moscow.

[Woman] Is it better than in Moscow?

[Yeltsin] Yes, it is. Meat costs 21 rubles.

[Woman] Twenty-one rubles?

[Yeltsin] Twenty-one rubles and you can buy it easily.

[Woman] Do you know what they call this town? An island of socialism. All that we have been building in the whole country we can build in one town.

[Yeltsin] Well, the island of socialism. At first they wanted to build it in Tomsk oblast, in an individual oblast, but that failed. And now in an individual town.

[Woman] Here we have managed something.

[Yeltsin] Very good. And people's mood, you can see...

[Woman, interrupting] Their spirits are high and you have had a wonderful reception.

[Yeltsin] Yes, thank you and goodbye.

[Correspondent] Are people beautiful here?

[Yeltsin] People are good. People are beautiful and nature is beautiful. Well done that you have managed to preserve nature. Well done.

[Video shows Yeltsin with unidentified scientists in a laboratory with people in the background]

[First scientist] This chamber is in a vacuum, and the radiation is directed at the target using these lenses. These lenses are fairly unique. They have very high operational specifications so the radiation can, in principle, be focused to a diameter of 10 microns. A stage of in-depth physical research is under way. It is designed to define what sort of target is needed and what parameters the unit requires, first and foremost to tackle the fundamental issue of laser thermonuclear synthesis [yadernyy sintez]: How to ignite the target. In other words, in the target itself to get an energy output higher than the laser energy supplied to it. That is the first stage.

[Yeltsin] Hmm.

[First scientist] This stage will now be dealt with at the end of the decade, it seems, or the very start of the next one. Today we need to build a 1 to 2 megajoule device to achieve this.

The Americans already have such a project. They are now approaching the government for....

[Yeltsin, interrupting] How much is it costing? Two trillion?

[First scientist] The estimates are 500-700 million dollars. For us, of course, it will be [word indistinct] more.

[Second scientist] It is very important for us to develop this project rather than just follow them, of course. They have their own know-how. They will go for this with pleasure, because we have ideas of our own. Russia is not up to going it alone.

[First scientist] They are further ahead than we are today.

[Second scientist] [words indistinct] to talk about producing thermonuclear energy, along those lines.

[Yeltsin] I do not think he is ready for that; he is more interested in space; we agreed on a joint program. They are further ahead in some respects, while we are in others. We can save cosmonauts who get into trouble in space, while they cannot. So both parties have an interest in this shared program. [end recording]

### Decree on 'Federal Centers' Issued

*LD2802153792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1357 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Arzamas-16, 28 Feb (TASS)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived today in the "atomic" town of Arzamas-16, located in Nizhniy Novgorod Oblast, 400 km east of Moscow. This center for the development of Soviet nuclear weapons, which was top secret until quite recently, and is officially named the Scientific Research Institute for Experimental Physics, is 80 km from the "real" Arzamas that is marked on the map.

Upon disembarking from his plane, the president said that he had brought with him a draft decree transforming the Arzamas-16 All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Experimental Physics into a Russian nuclear center, which is to be federal property. A similar decision, he said, is being prepared in relation to Chelyabinsk-70, another formerly closed military installation, which carried out the enrichment of uranium.

According to Yeltsin, he does not believe in a massive exodus of physicists to foreign countries, regarding them as "people who are very dedicated to their cause." "Only individuals will leave," he said. "But those individuals will not fully solve the problem of creating nuclear weapons in some country." At the same time, he regards it as essential to ensure the social protection of nuclear specialists and to raise their salaries. In this connection, the president announced that he had brought with him a corresponding draft decree.

Today, too, Yeltsin met staff of the Scientific Research Institute for Experimental Physics, in which Academician Andrey Sakharov used to work. Incidentally, one of the streets in the town is named after him. The house in which the academician lived has been preserved. The center's scientific manager is now the outstanding physicist Yuliy Khariton, whom the president congratulated on his 88th birthday, which he celebrated yesterday.

The few press representatives accompanying the president were not invited to the meeting, but as an ITAR-TASS correspondent learned, Yeltsin signed the decree forming two Russian federal nuclear centers on the basis of Arzamas-16 and Chelyabinsk-70. After the meeting at the institute, the president inspected the Iskra-05 laser thermonuclear synthesis device, which experts say is the best in Europe.

### Dismantlement Progress Discussed

*LD2802194392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Arzamas-16, 28 Feb (TASS)—Concluding his visit to the "atomic city," Russian President Boris Yeltsin held a meeting with town leaders and scientists at the town's soviet building. In particular, they discussed matters pertaining to the financing of the town and its status.

Summing up his trip before his departure, Boris Yeltsin noted that Arzamas-16 was related to a key problem of disarmament—the destruction of nuclear weapons. The highest scientific, intellectual, and production potential is concentrated here, he said. That includes the "Avangard" enterprise, where the development and destruction of nuclear weapons takes place.

The president stated that, as a result of his meeting with scientists and production staff, he had signed two documents that resolved a number of problems, and now progress could be made in refining the technology of dismantling and destroying strategic nuclear missiles.

This evening Boris Yeltsin returned to Moscow.

### Admirals Deny Spent Nuclear Fuel Dumped

*LD2802164992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Text] Those who watch British television broadcasts will of course remember journalists' claims that thousands of containers of nuclear fuel have been buried in the area of the Novaya Zemlya archipelago.

This piece of information was denied today in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS observer by Admiral Vitaliy Zaytsev, deputy commander of the CIS Naval Forces Fleet, and Vice Admiral Gennadiy Zolotukhin, head of a naval forces directorate in charge of the Novaya Zemlya nuclear testing range.

They stated that the spent nuclear fuel is not dumped by sailors, either at sea or on land. If necessary it is taken

out of the reactors and, with an accuracy down to grams, is transferred for processing to a specialized enterprise.

Vice Admiral Gennadiy Zolotukhin recalled the instruction of Russia's President, which envisages the drawing up of a state program for the reclamation and burial of radioactive waste and spent materials. This, he said, can only be welcomed.

## U.S. Interest in ABM Cooperation Questioned

*924P0093B Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 92 p 1*

[Commentary by A. Golts: "Pentagon Still Intends To Pursue SDI. Without Our Help"]

[Text] The initial stage of the Strategic Defense Initiative system deployment should provide limited protection of the United States from a missile attack launched by CIS states, China, North Korea, Libya, and Iraq. As a whole, this system will provide a "highly effective defense against accidental and unapproved attacks against the United States deploying up to 200 warheads coming from any direction." This is, in brief, the gist of the report that is currently being prepared by the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization and will be presented to Congress this spring. Excerpts from it have been published in the current issue of AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY magazine.

According to this information, the first hundred interceptor missiles will be deployed on U.S. territory as early as the end of 1996. Which will serve the purpose of establishing a "global defense from limited nuclear strikes"—the idea that has replaced the concept, now discarded as no longer needed (and not very feasible in practical terms), of deflecting a massive nuclear strike launched by the former USSR.

Actually, part of this initial concept—Project Brilliant Pebbles, which envisages deployment of ABM interceptors in space—still remains.

As for the deployment of ABM interceptors on the ground, in this respect, according to the magazine, the Pentagon is facing some difficulties. As is known, Soviet-American agreements provide for the deployment of ABM interceptors in only one location—the Grand Forks base. The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization, however, envisions using other bases as well. Specifically, Loring Air Force Base. This, however, may lead to scrapping the ABM Treaty.

Unfortunately, this is not the only circumstance indicating that the Americans are still envisioning SDI as something strictly for their own use and have no intentions of transforming this program into some global system of planetary defense, as Russia proposes.

Moreover, if the report in AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY is accurate, this makes it necessary to look from a somewhat different angle at the recently announced intentions of the heads of the foreign affairs departments of the United States and Russia to prepare an agreement on the creation of a joint tracking and early warning center. After all, it now appears that the Americans will at the same time be building systems that will include ground- and space-based ABM interceptors designed to deflect strikes, including those launched from CIS territory. In this case, it is doubtful that they will let their Russian colleagues come close to their own state-of-the-art technologies. Then what role will the proposed international early warning center play in relation to American missiles? Does it make any sense to even set it up, or is it a stillborn diplomatic initiative?

Right now it is hard to answer these questions. One thing is clear at this point—the Americans have no intention of giving up their own "individual version of global defense." And they plan to develop it without our participation.

## Chief of Staff Samsonov Arrives in DPRK

*LD0203072392 Moscow TASS in English 0649 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Nadashkevich]

[Text] Pyongyang, March 2 TASS—Colonel-General Viktor Samsonov, chief of the general staff of the CIS joint Armed Forces, has arrived in the DPRK. At the airport he was met by General Choe Hwang, chief of the general staff of the Korean People's Army.

The purpose of this working visit is primarily to sign an agreement between the two states on military cooperation, Samsonov told ITAR-TASS.

"Of course, we have some questions concerning the implementation of the earlier concluded treaties. Matters pertaining to further reductions in the armed forces will also be discussed here within the context of the U.N. address by Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The nuclear issue will be, possibly, touched upon as well," Samsonov emphasised.

Today General Samsonov will have talks with representatives of the general staff of the Korean People's Army, during which the two sides will specify a plan of measures to develop contacts between the main command of the CIS joint armed forces and the North Korean Ministry of the People's Armed Forces for 1992-1993.

## Chief of Staff Samsonov on Chinese Visit

*LD0203071492 Moscow TASS in English 0656 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Sorokin]

[Text] Beijing, March 2 TASS—China and the CIS discussed the pullout of troops deployed in the border areas and outlined the main directions of military and technical cooperation during a 6-day visit of Viktor Samsonov, the CIS chief of staff.

The pullout of troops from the border areas between the CIS and China was discussed with due consideration of the withdrawal from Mongolia, Samsonov told ITAR-TASS on Monday before flying for a working visit to North Korea. 60 thousand troops will return home this year, thousands of tanks and artillery pieces, as well as some 350 combat aircraft and helicopters will be withdrawn, he added.

Samsonov who met with Jiang Zemin, chairman of the Central Military Council of China, and other top military officials said it was agreed that the CIS will sell 24 SU-27 combat aircraft to China this year. The Chinese were also interested in armaments of the CIS ground troops, anti-air defences and the Air Force, he added.

The new CIS military doctrine and our assessments of the military and political situation in Asia and the Pacific caused great interest of our Chinese partners, Samsonov said, adding that the visit was useful for both sides.

## CSCE Membership for Republics Assesed

*PM0103140192 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4*

[Vladimir Mikheyev commentary: "Europe Pushes Back Borders to Tashkent and Dushanbe. CIS Republics Sign Helsinki Charter"]

[Text] The ceremony for the signing of the Final Act of Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] took place at the "Finlandia" Palace in Helsinki on 26 February. Among the new CSCE members present were the two Asian CIS republics—Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. In this way these states have, along with the United States and Canada, become members of the "Helsinki Club" without being subject to the geographical principle of belonging to Europe.

At a news conference at the Finnish capital's airport, President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan gave as the main reason for becoming a party to the Helsinki Charter the universal significance of the 10 principles of interstate relations formulated in the Final Act of the CSCE, and also of the provisions of the Paris Charter which was signed later. Uzbekistan regards its oath of allegiance to these principles as "completely natural" as this is a sort of pass, or at least a condition for joining the world economy. In turn President Rakhman Nabiyev of Tajikistan pointed to the aspiration to borrow from the progressive experience of other countries in building a democratic society and setting up a market economy. Access to the experience of others should provide important points of reference so that in the president's words "our first steps in this direction are certain."

The fact that the two Asian states are joining the participants in the Helsinki process may raise questions at first. It is understandable when Belarussian Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, who is present in the Finnish capital, reminds us of the existence in the center of Europe of such a state as the Republic of Belarus. "Our statehood goes back to very ancient times, but this was hushed up for at least 200 years," he pointed out. But what is the motivating factor when it comes to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan? Evidently the "window on Europe" possesses a number of attractive features for them, but which ones in particular?

You can assume in the first place that the arrival in Helsinki of the Uzbek and Tajik presidents must be seen in the context of the overall activation of the diplomacy of the two states, which have been recognized and have political and economic partners not only within the confines of the Asian region.

Second, their recognition of what are customarily called "civilized" principles of interstate relations will allow suspicion that they lean toward "Muslim fundamentalism" to be deflected (let us recall the motives of the recent visit to the Central Asian states by Secretary of State J. Baker).

Third, coming out onto the European expanses with the designation of a CIS member state allows access to a most abundant and generous reservoir of Western credits and source of technical, advisory, and humanitarian aid.

Nevertheless it should not be forgotten that both republics have voluntarily assumed international obligations which prescribe certain principles of internal political development as well; respect for human rights, a ban on an arbitrary redrawing of borders, strict adherence to one's own legislation etc. When all is said and done a noteworthy event has taken place. The broadening of the circle of CSCE participants promotes the confirmation of universally recognized rules of community in interstate relations, which objectively strengthens stability and faith in abiding democratic values.

## Commonwealth

### Further on Parliamentary Leaders Meeting

*LD2802230792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Report by special correspondent Nikolay Artemev on conference of chairmen of Commonwealth of Independent States Supreme Soviets, held in Moscow]

[Text] Under the roof of the white marble President Hotel, formerly the Oktyabrskaya Hotel built in the eighties for the highest nomenklatura of the CPSU and foreign communist parties, the heads of parliament of our Commonwealth gathered together for the first time in history. Taking part were Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Moldova.

Hung out in the luxurious vestibule of the hotel at the entrance to the meeting hall were the flags of the independent states which were represented at the conference by the chairmen or deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviets. The Russian delegation was headed by the head of parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, and only Moldova participated as an observer inasmuch as it has not yet ratified the agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. It was represented by the chairman of the parliamentary commission on human rights and ethnic issues.

Unfortunately, for unknown reasons, Uzbekistan did not take part in the work of the conference.

In the course of today, the sides worked precisely and smoothly and by this afternoon already had signed a number of major documents laying the foundations for regular interparliamentary cooperation. Here is how Ruslan Khasbulatov described these documents:

[Khasbulatov] "Irrespective of who is present here today—either a Supreme Soviet chairman or deputy—these documents have been agreed directly with the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets and leaderships. What, in particular, are these documents in concrete terms? These are agreements on interparliamentary cooperation in the legal sphere—you know how topical this is. The whole world is moving toward integration. Certain work is under way, as it were, to link up legislative norms in the legal and legislative sphere. At present, there are more and more such problems which have to be agreed on an international level, so it is natural that this agreement seems to us to be an important one; an agreement on consultative conferences of the chairmen of the parliaments of the CIS participant states.

"Next is a protocol on an interparliamentary information service. Naturally, the parliaments should have very good contacts and not just contacts but sound information about the work of our parliaments; a protocol on the elaboration of multilateral documents—as you may imagine this is such an important sphere that it is natural that precisely by way of multilateral documents that multilateral cooperation will first and foremost be implemented.

"So, as you can see, each of these documents presumes the extension of the sphere of interaction and cooperation."

[Artemev] At the same time, not everything went smoothly at the conference. Difficulties arose in particular in discussing the agreement on an interparliamentary assembly of the CIS states. This body was conceived as something along the lines of the European parliament for the states of the former Union. However, this agreement was not signed. Ukraine spoke against it. Here is how Ruslan Khasbulatov commented on this situation.

[Khasbulatov] "We planned, and also wanted to sign an agreement on an interparliamentary assembly, but this is roughly how things turned out for us. About half of the participants are prepared, half, and some others would like to sign, but various doubts remain. So, inasmuch as we are not setting up (?some kind of 100 percent plan) as an end in itself, and calling everything a wonderful result—and, after all, it is all about voluntary cooperation—we are proceeding from the principle that when one is talking about equal and voluntary cooperation, signed agreements are ensured in the most durable way and are most successfully fulfilled.

"For this reason we decided to discuss this issue both in our parliaments, that is, in the structures of our parliaments, and to return to this very important matter in March in Alma-Ata, exerting absolutely no pressure. So, presuming that here, the parliaments will also express themselves before the signing, perhaps the sides will bring something new and common to all.

"So, in this context, the answer to the fact that we did not sign—well, it is even good, taking account both of the importance of this interparliamentary assembly, and, naturally, by the way, to forestall various comments. So it is possible to say that we are also considering this assembly, naturally, as a consultative interparliamentary structure which will provide a certain public political base, public opinion, for joint activity in elaborating, say, some kind of parliamentary documents that go beyond the direct interests of a state.

"The same with economic cooperation, citizenship, the environment, combating crime, and so on. You know, all these spheres have no national borders."

[Artemev] The Karabakh question was almost a stumbling block. It came to the surface, of course, because representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan—which are, in effect, in a state of war—found themselves at the same table. But mutual recriminations were successfully avoided, and, to the credit of those taking part, it has to be said that understandings on the fundamental questions of interparliamentary interaction were not undermined.

The conference indisputably succeeded—and I will recall the four serious documents adopted. A high assessment of the results is also confirmed by the comments of those who actually took part. Here are just two of them: Vasiliy Shalodonov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, head of the delegation.

[Shalodonov] "It seems to me that the most important thing is that we had a dialcgue. The dialogue ended with the adoption of certain documents. The greatest satisfaction is that we are today finding common approaches. Speaking in parliament, I said that [word indistinct] to slam the door. One must leave the house in which we have been with honor. It is impossible to resolve all the problems which have come into their own without dialogue."

[Artemev] The Ukrainian delegation was headed by Vasiliy Durdinets, first deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Here is his point of view.

[Durdinets] "I have to say, and I want to support the comments made by Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, that the great preparatory work carried out both in Minsk, by the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, with the participation of representative delegations of all states, and then here for a few days, one after the other, made it possible for us to arrive at the adoption of those documents of which we have just been speaking.

"It seems to me that that spirit of being well disposed, of searching for and finding mutually acceptable solutions has made it possible for us to sign those documents today which give us the right to say that the conference has been held, and quite successfully. This is just the start of our ultimate cooperation, and we are very grateful for the good organization and management of this conference."

[Artemev] So, the first interparliamentary meeting within the framework of the CIS has been held. Such conferences will be regular from now on, and one should not regard them as an attempt to resuscitate the center in one or other of its forms, but as the development of a normal mechanism of cooperation between the parliaments and states of the CIS.

The next meeting of the heads of parliament will be held at the end of March in the capital of Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata.

### Khasbulatov Sums Up 'Superlative' Summit

*MK2802110492 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 28 Feb 92 p 1*

[V. Strakhov report under the general heading "People's Patience Not Limitless": "CIS Cause Lives, But Still Not Victorious"]

[Excerpts] A total of 10 flags fluttered yesterday in front of the entrance to the President Hotel's conference hall [in Moscow], where the leaders of the CIS Supreme Soviets were holding a conference. The Uzbek delegation was not present. Behind the scenes at the conference a story was going round that this was due to complex relations between the republic's parliament and its president. [passage omitted]

Right after the conference ended KURANTY's correspondent conducted an interview with R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

[Strakhov] What is your opinion of the results of the meeting?

[Khasbulatov] Superlative. This is a very serious meeting. It is natural for all the agreements concluded by governments and presidents to have been given a serious base in the form of close cooperation between parliamentarians. This will only strengthen the new Commonwealth.

[Strakhov] There were disagreements at the meeting between delegations...

[Khasbulatov] That is quite natural. There might have been greater disagreements, but that is also quite natural. We are forming a new structure, an international commonwealth, and, as with any new enterprise, disagreements are hard to avoid and one should not be surprised by them.

[Strakhov] When will the heads of parliament meet next?

[Khasbulatov] At the end of March in Alma-Ata.

### Defense Departments Prepares for Kiev Meeting

*LD2902143592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1257 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—A working meeting with representatives of the defense ministries and committees for defense of the CIS member states was held at the main command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces on 27-28 February.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed at the Joint Armed Forces' press center that the draft documents on defense issues, which will be presented to the council of heads of state of the Commonwealth on 20 March in Kiev, were examined at the meeting. About 10 documents have been prepared. These include draft agreements on the powers of the CIS supreme bodies on questions of defense; on the principles of bringing the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth up to strength; on providing them with armaments, military equipment, and other material means; on scientific research and design and testing facilities; on the legal foundations for the work of the Joint Armed Forces; on the use of airspace; and more.

In addition, a draft regulation on the main command of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and draft protocols on

establishing lists of military formations and installations included in the composition of the strategic forces and special purpose forces of the Joint Armed Forces has been agreed.

According to the report of the press center, the adoption of the documents prepared for examination by the heads of state of the Commonwealth will enable the legal basis for military reform and the functioning of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth to be strengthened.

### Finding 'Consensus' 'Complex'

*PM2802133792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Feb 92 p 3*

[ITAR-TASS military observer A. Naryshkin report: "For Next CIS Summit Meeting"]

[Text] The main result of the latest meeting of CIS heads of state is that they confirmed the intention to create Joint Armed Forces comprising strategic forces, general purpose forces, and national armed forces operationally subordinate to the Main Command. This is the viewpoint of Lieutenant General Leonid Ivashov, chief of the Affairs Directorate of the CIS Joint Armed Forces Main Command.

In conversation with the ITAR-TASS observer Gen. Ivashov noted that, of the most important documents prepared for the Minsk meeting, it was not possible to adopt the agreements on the powers of the Commonwealth's supreme organs for defense questions and on the Main Command. The principles for bringing the Armed Forces up to strength and performing military service have not been elaborated. Neither has work been completed on an agreement among Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan on resiting nuclear weapons. Through lack of time the presidents were not able to consider drafts of certain other agreements (on law-enforcement organs, intelligence support, and general military regulations). They will obviously be submitted for discussion in Kiev 20 March.

A number of documents signed 14 February contain reference norms. For example, the legal position and status of the general-purpose forces will be regulated by a separate agreement still to be elaborated. The same also applies to the agreement on the composition of Strategic Forces and the procedure for bringing them up to strength. I hope these documents will be ready for the next summit meeting, the general said.

There is also an officially recorded point about accelerating the elaboration of draft agreements associated with fulfillment of the treaties on the CIS and on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. In Minsk the sides failed to arrive at a unified opinion on certain positions, including the level of conventional armed forces remaining after the envisaged reductions in the independent states. Agreement has to be reached on numbers of tanks, aircraft, armored vehicles, and artillery, and on who should have them. Furthermore, for the states that have agreed to have general-purpose forces a separate package of documents will be elaborated regulating the principles of the troops' operational subordination, the procedure for material and technical support and for performing military service, and the combat training system.

The question of a single military budget will be submitted to the presidents for consideration 20 March only in the event that it proves possible to solve it at head of government level.

I believe, Gen. Ivashov noted, that it will be somewhat easier to work in Kiev: We know each state's positions, a number of documents have already been initialed by defense ministers, and only certain differences remain to be overcome. The questions which do not find a coordinated solution should obviously be merely discussed, and each delegation will be able to reflect its own particular position in an appropriate officially recorded entry. Clearly, this is what we must move toward, because finding a consensus on all positions will be a complex matter, Ivashov concluded.

### Ukrainian Prime Minister on Soviet Debt

*OW2502203092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 25 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine's premier Vitold Fokin said that Ukraine was ready to guarantee the repayment of the Soviet debt by the ex-Soviet republics that refused to sign a memorandum on joint and collective responsibility for the Soviet foreign debt in late 1991. He made the statement at a Tuesday [23 February] consultative meeting in Kiev on the ex-Soviet Union's foreign debt.

Apart from Ukraine, the following ex-Soviet republics refused to accept joint responsibility: Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and the Baltic states, with which the CIS would hold a separate negotiation.

Russia has not taken in the Kiev meeting that had been called at Ukraine's initiative. Western financial agencies were not represented either.

According to Fokin, Ukraine is willing to extend debt repayment guarantees to the seven ex-Soviet republics that reject joint responsibility. Ukraine's share of the debt counted in, this constitutes 26% of the former USSR's foreign debt.

Russia guarantees the repayment of the rest of the debt.

The premier explained that Ukraine had refused to sign the joint responsibility memorandum because it did not specify the exact amount of the foreign debt and the amount of the Soviet Union's assets.

Ukraine, said Fokin, is also opposed to having all debt settlements made through the USSR Vnesheconombank which was lately placed under Russian authority. Fokin

invited the G-7 countries to choose any other bank in or outside the CIS that will take stock of the Soviet Union's assets and liabilities. Ukraine is willing to repay its share and those of the republics that did not sign the joint responsibility memorandum through this bank.

The meeting agreed that experts would prepare proposals for the CIS summit to be held in Kiev on March 20, 1992.

Asked by IF [INTERFAX], a senior staffer at the Russian Foreign Economics Ministry emphasized that he "was not ready to make comments on the results of the Kiev meeting" pending next sitting of the Interstate Council for the Foreign Debt. According to the officer, Russia adheres to the concept of joint responsibility of all Soviet republics for the ex-Soviet Union's debt.

### Problem of Providing Border Guards Experienced

*LD2802203892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the CIS worries not only us but the West as well. Strange as it may seem, requests from our neighbors to guard our own border as it should be have become more frequent. Desertions among the border troops can be regarded as a new tendency. Each soldier returns to his own republic.

[Correspondent R.Oganesov] Moldova and Ukraine were the first to announce independent guarding of borders. In Belarus this question is being considered by the Supreme Soviet and in the other republics—people serve at border outposts and await a decision on their fate. Uncertainty aggravates an already tense service of border guards in the Baltic states and permits the involvement of border troops in conflicts in the Transcaucasus where things have reached the point of attacks on servicemen and instances of servicemen and members of their families being taken hostage. Gunfire, mine-laying and attempts to seize material valuables from the Afghan territory are being committed already. And in the event control in this border area is reduced, it is likely that the war will spread to the territories of the three Central Asian republics.

Although border troops are not part of the strategic troops and can be divided, this will certainly lead to a weakening of control and will damage security in all CIS states.

[V.O. Olefir, head of a border college] If each republic creates its own border troops the question naturally arises of guarding not only existing borders with contiguous states with which we have borders, but also the border with Russia will have to be guarded and republics will be guarding borders with each other. And it will express itself, most likely, not in hundreds of thousands but in millions of servicemen.

[Oganesov] So, 15 km of a border will cost independent states more than 12 million rubles [R], and a border outpost will cost more than R15 million. To prepare one officer will cost about R1 million, not taking into account expenditure on creating a republic's own material basis for training personnel. [video shows border guards in training]

### Klaipeda Border Ferry Incident Reported

*PM2802145592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Feb 92*

[Report by G. Sablin and A. Troshin; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Sablin] At the CIS border crossing on the Klaipeda-Mukhran ferry shots rang out in broad daylight 22 February. The shots were fired by a border guard in accordance with Guard Duty Regulations in response to attempts by persons unknown to penetrate the territory of the border checkpoint.

It emerged later that the 20 unarmed people were neither invaders nor terrorists but colleagues from the Territorial Protection Department. They demanded that the border checkpoint building, which belongs to the republic, be vacated. The border guards, having no instructions to this effect from above, are performing their duties under the past accords between the now defunct USSR KGB and the Lithuanian Government.

[Unidentified border guard official] Let me add, our role in the border district is connected with the performance of duties to safeguard the interests not just of the Lithuanian Republic but also the Russian Federation.

[Sablin] The dyarchy on the international ferry is now in its fourth day. Vilnius is insisting on its rights, while Moscow has so far remained silent. Meanwhile the border guards of the former USSR, forgotten by their masters, are trying to discharge their duties with honor on the territory of a foreign sovereign state.

## Military

### Attacks on CIS Troops in NKAO Assessed

*LD0103203792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[From the "Results of the Past Week" program]

[Text] Here is a brief commentary on a report by our correspondent. The Azerbaijani side claims many a time that CIS troops, in particular the 366th Motor Rifle Regiment, were taking part in combat operations on the side of the Armenian armed formations. These assertions were officially refuted by the command of the CIS Armed Forces. But what a paradox! The Army takes no part in combat operations but there are killed, wounded, and prisoners of war. This year alone eight servicemen

have been killed on the territory of Azerbaijan, 22 have been wounded, and 28 taken hostage.

Why does it happen? According to the command of the CIS Armed Forces, this is the result of criminal actions aimed at seizing equipment, armaments, and ammunition on CIS military sites. Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Unified Armed Forces, has appealed to the Armenian and Azerbaijani presidents with a request to take measures to return what has been seized and to allow no illegal actions to be taken against servicemen and their families. He has also instructed the troop commanders stationed in the region to step up the protection of military barracks and depots. Any attacks on servicemen and military sites should be resolutely rebuffed.

Marshal Shaposhnikov has also ordered the 366th Motor Rifle Regiment to withdraw from the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh and to remove all military outposts from the administrative border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

### Manilov Cites Pullout Details

*LD2902190192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The decision by Air Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces, to withdraw the 366th Motorized Rifle Regiment from Nagorno-Karabakh has given rise to many questions, both in the Transcaucasus and in Russia. One clarification: The regiment is not being withdrawn to Russia, but will be located in another region of Azerbaijan, remaining part of the Transcaucasian Military District. Here are the details from General Valeriy Manilov, head of the information directorate of the CIS Joint Armed Forces.

[Begin recording] [Manilov] I only have just received the latest information. Preparatory work currently is underway for the regiment's departure, the overall situation is calm, and all of the necessary preparations are being carried out very calmly and according to plan.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is the timeframe for the withdrawal?

[Manilov] The shortest timeframe. Of course, it is difficult to say how many days it will last. As soon as the preparatory work is completed, the regiment will leave the place where it is stationed and will be transferred to another place.

[Correspondent] Will it prove possible to withdraw all the equipment?

[Manilov] We are, in any case, counting on the good sense of everyone involved with this; we are appealing to the authorities, and to the people, to make it possible for our regiment to depart without losses, without violence, without bloodshed, and without provocation.

[Correspondent] How will the regiment's command act if there are attempts to seize equipment? Are there any instructions on this?

[Manilov] You do not need any special instructions on this. There are regulations, there are laws in force, which stipulate that in a direct armed attack on military property, on military facilities, or on servicemen, they are obliged to defend these facilities and this property, their honor and dignity, including with the use of arms. [end recording]

### Gromov To Oversee Departure

*LD0203121192*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1049 GMT on 2 March, during the scheduled "Soldiers of the 20th Century Against War" telethon which is raising money for veterans, carries a five-minute appearance by Boris Gromov, who in 1989 oversaw the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The telethon host says that Gromov was about to leave for Stepanakert, Khankendy, to take command of the withdrawal of CIS troops from Nagorno-Karabakh.

Standing alongside Gromov, who is in combat uniform, the host recalls Gromov's role in the withdrawal from Afghanistan, then says: "Today Boris Vsevolodovich Gromov is again in field uniform. We are all worried about the events taking place in Nagorno-Karabakh. In a few hours' time, Boris Vsevolodovich is flying to Stepanakert to implement the withdrawal of the 366th Regiment of the CIS Armed Forces." He then wishes Gromov a safe and successful mission.

In response, Gromov says he "wished to take this opportunity to appeal to all, including the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides, for the regiment, which has been there for several years and which includes a large number of people of various nationalities—Russians, Armenians, Azeris, Kazakhs, Uzbeks. It represents many of our state's nationalities, and I would like to appeal to the leadership and people of Stepanakert and other nearby areas to do all they can in order so the regiment can depart without losses." Gromov goes on to praise the aims of the telethon, and to speak of the desire of soldiers everywhere to prevent wars and unnecessary bloodshed.

### Commander Hopes For 'Common Aim' in Reform

*PM2802164792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 92 p 1*

[Report by Colonel A. Ladin "Direct Line": "Whose Orders Should I Implement First? Army Commander Asks Himself More and More Frequently"]

[Text] Lieutenant General Anatoliy Ryabtsev, commander of the army stationed on the territory of the

Republic of Kazakhstan, emphasized in conversation with your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent that of late as a result of the situation prevailing in the region he has found it more and more difficult to understand whose instructions are crucial and should be implemented first. In his opinion, the time has come to clearly define this....

Judge for yourself, A. Ryabtsev said, citing an example: I receive instructions from Tashkent to move a large consignment of military property and combat hardware from the territory of Kazakhstan. I cannot do this without consultation with the president, the government, and the State Committee for Defense since I am supposed to comply with the laws of the state on whose territory the troops are stationed at the present time.

Being aware in day-to-day work of the results of the lack of coordination in the entire system of troop control in the CIS Joint Armed Forces which are being established, the commander said, we would like the reform process in military organizational development to have some kind of common aim.

### Oceans Committee Urges Navy Remain Unified

*PM0203122692 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 92 p 1*

[ITAR-TASS report: "'Peace to the Oceans' Committee Against Division of Navy"]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb—"We call on parliaments and leaders of the Commonwealth states to preserve for a transitional period a unified security system, a unified military-strategic area, and unified control of the CIS Armed Forces, and to declare a moratorium on the division of the Navy for at least two or three years." This is stated in an appeal received by ITAR-TASS today, which was adopted at a meeting of the aktiv of the international committee "Peace to the Oceans" and the Association of International Maritime Law. These organizations bring together scientists, lawyers, seamen of the merchant and fishing fleets, and retired admirals, generals, and officers.

The lack of a unified CIS Navy, the appeal says, could lead to a possible naval arms race and the emergence of confrontation at sea. Only on the basis of the CIS Joint Armed Forces and a unified Navy is it possible to formulate a defensive doctrine that is acceptable to the sovereign states and could reliably avert all threats from the seas and oceans.

[Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 February 1992 carries on page 1 of its First Edition in the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA-ITAR-TASS column a report headed "'Peace to the Oceans' Committee Advocates Moratorium on Dividing the Navy," which contains the following additional paragraph: "The 'Peace to the Oceans' committee expresses support for the Russian Federation president's initiatives and proposals on reducing the CIS Strategic Offensive Armed Forces, including the Navy, on parity principles."]

### Military Industry Faces 1 Million Unemployed

*LD2902104192 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS reporter]

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—There will be one million jobless at the enterprises of the military industrial complex by the middle of this year. This will be caused by the fact that the defence sector conversion process, launched three years ago, was figured out in a rather unqualified way, Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, said when meeting a visiting delegation of U.S. businessmen and members of congress, the newspaper PRAVDA reported today.

He said the country's defence plants have the highest skilled personnel and super-modern equipment. This branch of the Russian industry is now experiencing the most serious downturn which is connected, in Volskiy's view, with the contraction of the amount of orders placed with the military industry—there were 30 percent less orders in 1991 than the year before, and this year has seen a decline by another 30 percent. The conversion process, prepared three years ago in an unprofessional way, had not yielded any positive results, Volskiy said.

### 'Fatherland Protection Fund' To Aid Servicemen

*LD2902101292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1314 GMT 21 Feb 92*

[Text] A presentation of a new charity fund is taking place at this very moment. It is called the Fatherland Protection [zashchitnik otechestva] Fund. Details in this telephone report by correspondent Oleg Aksenov:

[Begin recording] [Aksenov] It so happens that problems of the army are coming to the forefront. These are not only the fulfillment of international obligations on reduction of armed forces or the splitting up of the former Soviet Army, but these are social problems, which arise due to various circumstances. In order to solve these problems the former Soviet Union, Russia and other states have announced various programs, but there is simply no money for them. Servicemen have decided to tackle this problem themselves with some help from entrepreneurs. It is not a coincidence that among the founders of the new charity fund there are such organizations as Associations and Unions of Reserve Servicemen and of Servicemen on International Duty, the 21st Century Association, and the Association of Businesswomen. Strangely enough, women have also decided to save our army.

The problems that the fund has to face are truly enormous. They include help for servicemen, help for their families, and help in all sorts of areas. I asked Army

General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov, president of the fund, to explain which programs are going to be dealt with at first.

[Lobov] It is true that the fund faces exceptionally important and major problems. First of all, we have to provide help to a category of servicemen which finds itself cast adrift because of the reductions in the armed forces. These are young officers who are energetic, and specialists with a high level of military training. Obviously they have to find a honorable place in our society. They must be useful to our society. We will help this category of officers to retrain. With that aim we will be looking for training facilities. We will help them financially.

Second, we must not forget that to our great regret some staff receive injuries and disabilities during their service in the army. The fund sees providing help to these people as another of its main priorities.

Third, we have a category of people finding themselves in a civilian capacity. These are families which have lost their breadwinner. Sometimes they have lost two breadwinners. These are orphan children of servicemen and women. This is the legacy of the Afghan war and of other various serious cases which occur in the army. These people will also be considered by our fund. We will naturally assist them in every possible way and provide financial help for them.

[Aksenov] Vladimir Nikolayevich, it is well known that the military are proud people. I imagine that you will not go around with your hand outstretched, to beg here and there, and then reallocate it yourselves. Where are you going to find resources?

[Lobov] This question is exceptionally serious. First of all, in order to start off the activity of the fund, I must say that I am very grateful to our businessmen. I cannot name them all now, but I thank them because they already have done a great deal by investing capital in our fund.

Second, the army will obviously become smaller. there will be arms reductions as a result of the Vienna talks, which have to be ratified. Further, there will have to be reductions in strategic offensive weapons. I mention this, because resources will become available. Equipment, force, intellect, potential will be set free. We hope that our calculations will be transformed into resources through entrepreneurs, although we will count on their help, and we will also think of starting productive, commercial activities ourselves. I address myself to everyone, taking advantage of speaking about this fund. I also call for support for this fund. Those who want to participate in it should do so.

[Aksenov] This leaves us only regretting that saving the drowning is left to the drowning themselves and to wish well to all those who have decided to solve all these problems. [end recording]

I do not really believe in funds, or in their great efficiency, but if the problem is in steady military hands, there is hope. Let us wish well to the Fatherland Protection Fund.

### Troop Withdrawal From Baltics May Take 5 Years

*OW2802181792 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1350 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Head of the Bundestag delegation comprising deputies-experts on defense Bern Vils said in Riga February 27 that up to 180,000 troops of the former Soviet Union are still stationed in the Baltics. At the same time, he noted that Commander of the Northwestern group of forces Colonel-General Mironov had told him that only 120,000 troops are currently present in the region.

Vils also said that during his meeting with Mironov they discussed the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Baltics to Russia. According to Vils, General Mironov has stated that due to technical and financial problems the withdrawal could take about five years.

### Investigation Continues Into Helicopter Crash

*LD2802174192 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The KA-27 helicopter of the Northern Fleet, which crashed on February 26 in the Barents Sea 13 kilometres to the north west of island Kildin, was approaching the "Simferopol" antisubmarine vessel, ITAR-TASS was told by Navy spokesman, Captain 1st Rank Valeriy Novikov.

The helicopter, which carried three crew and seven passengers, tilted to the left 400 metres from the ship, went down, fell into water and drowned. It is now located at a depth of 240 metres. Only two members of the crew, Majors Mikhail Alekseyev and Sergey Gorbachev, and one of the passengers, Captain Aleksandr Sukonin, were rescued. All pilots were in sea rescue suits.

Vessels operating now in the zone of the catastrophe include the "Titov" rescue vessel, harbour defence ships and deep water submersible vehicles.

The commission is continuing its work.

## Caucasus

### Chechen President on Union of Caucasian States

*LD0203114592 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Text] Dzhakhar Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, spoke in an interview with RIA on establishing a union of the Caucasus on a confederative basis. He

named four areas for such a union: the withdrawal of all Commonwealth of Independent States forces from the Caucasian republics, a provisional political agreement between all parties and movements on their subordination to a single program, an association of all religions and confessions and the creation of single armed forces in the Caucasus in order to localize conflicts. Dudayev considers that one of the conditions for maintaining the future confederation of Caucasian states is cooperation with Russia.

## Media

### Radio Moscow Programs, Funding Future Viewed

*LD2802173392 Hilversum Radio Netherlands in English 1150 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Interview with Vasiliy Strelnikov, former Radio Moscow announcer, by program presenter Jonathan Marks; place and date not given; from the "Media Network" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Marks] Any more news about Radio Moscow and its funding?

[Strelnikov] The speculation about funding to last to June or July is correct. After that, according to Radio Moscow officials, the service is to gain a sort of autonomy from the "Ostankino" company. They are to gain that autonomy by looking for independent sponsorship. Now, despite the Yeltsin takeover which we talked about earlier, Radio Moscow is not, nor will not be [as heard], part of Russian Radio and Television.

Another interesting point here is that Radio Moscow World Service [in English] will change its name to Radio Moscow International.

[Marks] That's interesting because that's in line with the French service.

[Strelnikov] Exactly.

[Marks] When will that happen?

[Strelnikov] That is expected to happen anytime between now and the June or July deadline that we spoke of.

### First Issue of New CIS Newspaper Sells Out

*LD2902111192 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Text] The first issue of the newspaper WE has been sold out quickly in Moscow and other cities in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States. It is published in Russian and English by the Hearst Corporation and Moscow's IZVESTIYA. The editors of the two publications, a Russian and American, told readers they will be covering truthfully events that are very much on the minds of the two peoples, and there will be no censorship. What turned out to be a sensation, especially for American readers, was a story about an IZVESTIYA military observer from aboard the latest and super-secret atomic submarine Typhoon.

### TASS Carries Press Review for 28 Feb

*LD2802054492 Moscow TASS in English 0541 GMT 28 Feb 92*

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Fighting between Armenian and Azeri militants has resumed in Nagorno-Karabakh, despite an Iranian- brokered ceasefire agreement, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reports today, adding that this will cast doubts on a visit by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati to the region, because Azerbaijan cannot guarantee his safety in the light of continuing clashes.

The fall in industrial production will reach its bottom-line next year, prominent Commonwealth academician Abel Aganbegyan predicted in an interview published in PRAVDA. "This winter, compared to the winter of 1993, will seem much easier. It is necessary to expedite radical land reforms and enable farmers to work fruitfully," Aganbegyan said.

"Financial stabilisation will occur in the autumn, if the government does not waver, bow to demands for higher wages, because this will automatically result in a new explosion of prices, a new inflationary spiral, and eventually, economic collapse," he said.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA criticises the Russian Government's economic policy, accusing it in resolving current problems with "administrative" methods.

The problem is not so much that the administrative-command market is not liked by some, but that it cannot feed everybody. The logic of dosed reforms from above have completely exhausted itself during perestroyka years. Should democrats and economists twice step on the same rake?, the newspaper writes.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA comments on the presence of Commonwealth troops in Transcaucasia. "There should be full clarity: If the presence of Commonwealth troops is necessary in Transcaucasia to protect against foreign encroachments, they should have a corresponding legal status. If not, they should be allowed to withdraw in a civilised manner," the newspaper writes.

Commenting on possible reductions in the U.S. and Commonwealth Navies, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out: "Having just begun, the process is becoming lopsided. Russian President Boris Yeltsin's peace initiatives get practical implementation, whereas the activity of the U.S. Navy continues on a scope which is basically the same as 10 years ago."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA continues to comment clashes between protesters and police in Moscow on February 23: "Every person, irrespective of his political sympathies is now trying to understand why a demonstration of

force and deterrence was necessary and what else can be expected from the city's democratic leadership."

### TASS Carries Press Review for 29 Feb

*LD2902075392 Moscow TASS in English 0617 GMT 29 Feb 92*

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow February 29 TASS—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) reports that the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) instructed the commanders of the troops of the Transcaucasian Military District, the 4th and 7th armies to enhance the guarding of cantonments and other military facilities and issue a resolute rebuff if attacked.

The CIS commander in chief also ordered to withdraw the 366th Motorised Rifle Regiment from the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh and remove all pickets from the administrative border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The newspaper's analyst Aleksander Golts, in an article headlined "Who Is Next, Messrs. Coordinators?", suggests the idea that foreign countries feel more concern for the affairs of the CIS than CIS leaders.

"An utter inability of CIS member-states to establish relations with one another, literally compels foreign diplomats to play the role of coordinators within the CIS framework," he writes.

"U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati and other political figures from foreign countries have begun to frequent our country to help us settle our domestic affairs.

"Against this background, a pointed unwillingness of CIS member-states themselves to establish relations inside their rather unsteady Commonwealth is simply surprising," the analyst observes.

"Top-level conferences become only an arena to demonstrate super- sovereignty, which end with the elaboration of declarations of intent, and no one intends to extinguish the hotbeds of conflicts," Golts emphasises.

PRAVDA writes about a difficult state of affairs at enterprises of the military industrial sector. The newspaper quotes Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, as saying that "this branch of the Russian industry is now experiencing the most serious downturn connected with a sharp contraction of military orders."

Unemployment has hit the defence sector. About 300,000 people are already out of a job. By the middle of the year the number of unemployed will reach one million, Volskiy said.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a statement issued by representatives of parties, movements and creative unions in connection with the February 23 developments in Moscow, demanding a "procuratorial investigation and the institution of judicial proceedings against Moscow leaders Popov, Luzhkov and Murashov who did not comply with the Moscow city council's decision and provoked tumult."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, analysing the results of the recent meeting of CIS parliamentary chiefs in Moscow, arrives at a conclusion that the CIS is firmly headed for a self-dissolution.

This has been most patently illustrated by a purely procedural problem: the delegations of the parliaments of Azerbaijan and Moldova stated they adhered to the status of observers during the talks. "It is not without reason that two CIS member states insist on their right to take the seats of observers. These seats are closer to the door, to the exit," the newspaper emphasises.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs an analytic note by the International Foundation for Economic and Social Reforms, headed by Academician Stanislav Shatalin. The international foundation "Reform," which has been established with a view to promoting in-depth social transformations based on the principles of democracy and economic freedom, sets out its opinion on the fundamental issues of reform strategy and tactics, makes some recommendations to adjust the reform process and suggests measures to ensure the irreversibility of the nascent movement towards a market economy.

"I am not afraid of a trial. If society needs it, let there be a trial, at which I will say that I regarded and continue to regard perestroyka as a hard but essential process and it was necessary to launch it," former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said in an interview published in today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

Expressing his view of the developments in the country, he said "the leadership of Russia and the president feel the impulses of real life." He believes that the Commonwealth of Independent States "is in need of a common authority, an inter-state court."

PRAVDA reports a new spiral of tension in Georgia. "The end of an official war in Georgia became the beginning of a new one—guerrilla warfare," the newspaper notes. Supporters of the deposed President Zviad Gamsakhurdia have stepped up their activity, launching guerrilla actions.

Acts of sabotage on railways have become frequent: in February there were 13 such acts on railways in Abkhazia, an autonomous republic which is part of Georgia. They brought railway traffic to a standstill in the northern sections of the railway which is the main artery for the delivery of economic cargoes to the republic.

## TASS Carries Press Review for 2 Mar

*LD0203063692 Moscow TASS in English 0534 GMT 2 Mar 92*

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS—The liberalisation of prices will not produce the expected result and will not fill the market with goods and food under conditions of a monopolised economy. This is the opinion of Amangeldiy Tuleyev, director of the Kuznetsk coal fields and People's Deputy of Russia, expressed in a letter published in today's ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA.

In the belief that "we are still far from an abundance of goods" he warns that "poverty is already knocking at the door."

"It will hit primarily the low-incomed people in Russia: pensioners, the disabled, students, single mothers and families with many children."

"Economic reforms should have been preceded by a substantive programme for the social protection of citizens" is the deputy's firm conviction. At the same time he views as a positive phenomenon the advent, alongside democracy, of "criticism and different trends of thought." He expresses apprehensions lest "this useful sprout of democracy" should not get choked under conditions of "ill-natured criticism and denigration."

"I taught Kim Il-song communism," maintains Piotr Pak-il, a Korean by origin, who taught history and scientific communism at the Kazakh state university for forty years and who had worked in Pyongyang for two years beginning from September 1946. ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA today carries an interview with Piotr Pak-il, candidate of science and assistant professor. The interview was earlier circulated by the Kazakh news agency DANA-PRESS.

Appointed the vice chancellor of Pyongyang University, Piotr Pak- il, as he put it "was busy inculcating the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the masses."

"The founding of Pyongyang University and teaching Kim Il-song the fundamentals of Communist philosophy was my particularly secret party assignment," the scholar reminisces.

"One billion roubles for the nomenklatura" is the headline under which ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA runs an article in connection with the dismissal of Aleksander Yutkin, deputy chairman of Russia's Committee for State Property, who signed a document on the founding of a closed-type joint-stock company Kolo with a charter capital of 1,000 million roubles.

The newspaper asserts that the cost of property, estimated at more than 700-odd million roubles in the charter capital was understated by at least two orders of magnitude.

A punishable aspect of the founding of the joint-stock society was primarily in the transfer of state property to it for a trifle according to the depreciated cost, Valeriy Chernogorodskiy, chairman of Russia's state committee for anti-monopoly policy and support for new economic entities, told the newspaper.

A new trend in science—endoecology—is described in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA by Professor Yuriy Levin, director of the Russian Health Ministry's clinical lymphology centre and of the endoecology centre of the charity and health foundation.

An endoecological disease is caused by microdoses of a multitide of toxic substances. The scientist believes that the incidence of ecology-dependent diseases—cardiovascular and oncological ones—has grown by 50 percent since the 1970's.

According to data given by Professor Levin, only 23 percent of children remain healthy by the age of seven, 14 percent by the age of 17, and a half of youths of draft age are unfit for service in the army for health reasons.

"The ecological time bomb will burst without noise," Levin warns, calling for urgent measures to stimulate nature-conservation activities.

Discussing the same subject, the newspaper writes about the problem of the Kola peninsula where the Monchegorsk nature and industrial complex—one of the most ecologically vulnerable—is located.

The Severonickel complex operating there for 30 years ruins everything living around it through its noxious emissions. At the existing rate of the expansion of polluted areas, there will be desert within the radius of 30 kilometres in the vicinity of the complex in 25-30 years' time, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA emphasises.

Beginning from March 1992, the central bank of the Russian Federation will publish information on the rates of foreign currencies against the rouble and the U.S. dollar. Every week the newspaper will publish market and special commercial rates of foreign currencies against the rouble (on Wednesdays) and the rates of 16 leading freely convertible currencies against the U.S. dollar.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carries information on Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's tour of African countries and reports developments inside the country and abroad.

## International Affairs

### Yeltsin Agrees on Peace Treaty With Japan

*OW0203121192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1021 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin met in Moscow on Monday with Japan's former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and agreed with the latter's proposal that the two countries conclude a peace treaty until the end of the decade [Tokyo KYODO in English at 1128 GMT on 2 March reports: "Yeltsin reacted favorably to Nakasone's request that the peace treaty be concluded by the end of this century."].

Nakasone told journalists after the meeting that he had raised a whole package of issues related to Russo-Japanese cooperation and called, among other things, for intensifying the peace treaty's drafting.

He spoke out in favor of closer trade and economic contacts between the two countries and suggested that Russia get involved in the regional system of cooperation among the countries of the Sea of Japan.

Nakasone is staying in Moscow at the invitation of the Russian parliament's committee on international affairs and foreign economic relations. He is expected to meet on Monday with the chief of Russian intelligence Yevgeniy Primakov and the former President Mikhail Gorbachev. For further details see today's edition of DIPLOMATIC PANORAMA.

### Yeltsin's Relations Message Welcomed by Japan

*LD2802114592 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[Text] Tokyo, February 28 TASS—Japan welcomes Russian readiness to promote "partnership relations" between the two countries and to view Tokyo as "a possible ally" in future, expressed in a message of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, Secretary General of the Japanese Cabinet of Ministers Koichi Kato told reporters on Friday [28 February].

The message was handed over to Japanese authorities by Russian Ambassador to Tokyo Ludvig Chizhov, TASS learned from embassy sources. The letter stressed that time had come to establish "genuine good-neighbourly relations" between Russia and Japan. The Russian leadership will continue to prepare the bilateral peace treaty for signing by settling all the existing problems, including the territorial dispute, on the basis of "lawfulness and justice", according to the sources.

President Yeltsin also thanked Japan for its aid to Russia.

### Rutskoy Receives U.S. Agricultural Delegation

*LD2802215892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Report by correspondent Yu.Reshetnikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russia's Vice President Rutskoy today received a U.S. agricultural delegation on a colleague-to-colleague basis. At the meeting he explained his ideas for land reform and called on American farmers to join in the countryside transformation process. Let us recall that following a meeting with Boris Yeltsin on 12 February, Rutskoy was entrusted with handling land reform and instructed to provide the president with regular updates on his activity in this field.

### Meets U.S. Agriculture Secretary

*OW2802211892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice President of Russia Aleksandr Rutskoy met with U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Edward Madigan Friday [28 February]. Madigan is heading a delegation of American agriculture specialists currently in Moscow.

Reforming the system of wholesale food trade in the Moscow region was discussed at the meeting. Madigan said the United States is ready to help create the necessary market structures and in particular to create a contemporary system of information on prices which can become the basis for establishing an effective food market in the city and surrounding area.

According to the Secretary of Agriculture, the group of American specialists are also working on setting up an American model farm in Russia where Russian farmers will be able to study farm management.

### Foreign Minister Kozyrev Begins African Tour

*LD2602234192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev set off on a tour of Africa today. He will visit Angola, South Africa, and Egypt. During a news conference in Moscow prior to his departure by plane, he had his say on diplomacy within the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. [video shows Kozyrev being interviewed by unidentified correspondent]

[Kozyrev] It seems to me that two thoughts precisely were expressed here: One must respect the sovereignty of these states. It is necessary to build relations with them on an equal basis. But, at the same time, we will defend strictly, formally our own interests, which, by the way, do not run counter to their interests—these are the

interests of a unified army, human rights, and the protection of the Russian and the Russian-speaking population in other CIS states and, together with them, economic cooperation. [video shows that the news conference title was "Transformed Russia in a New World"]

### Kozyrev Meets With Angolan President 27 Feb

*LD2802190992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1538 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Korzun and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Luanda, 27 Feb (TASS)—Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos today received Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, who is here on a short working visit. During their conversation, a wide range of problems was discussed concerning the situation in Russia and in Angola, the present state of and development prospects for friendly ties and bilateral cooperation, and also the situation in southern Africa and the continent as whole.

Answering journalists' questions Kozyrev said that during his conversation with the president he was "greatly impressed by the fact that we have retained friendly attitudes toward one another." I have become convinced that there is a firm intention in Angola to take the path of democratic reforms, settlement, and economic regeneration. This is very much consonant with what we are doing in Russia, and thus there is good potential for the future for us.

The minister announced that an accord in principle has been reached to do away with the former Soviet military mission in Angola. Touching on the question of Angola's indebtedness to the former Soviet Union, Kozyrev said the sides have agreed on the need "to seek a civilized way out of this problem so as to turn the debt problem into a base for launching further bilateral economic cooperation."

Replying to a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, the minister said that as regards prospects for developing contacts with Angola and Africa as a whole, "we have every foundation for optimism." We have encountered here the same conclusion which we ourselves have come to at home—namely, that neither in Africa nor in Europe, nor in any other part of the world, is there any other path of development than the democratic one. This instills in us the certainty that we are moving in the right dierection. Kozyrev announced that he handed to the Angolan president a message of reply from Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin.

The great changes which are taking place and have taken place in our countries and throughout the world should in no way be an obstacle to the strengthening of ties of friendship and cooperation between Russia and Angola, ties which have stood the test of time right back to the first day of the Angolan people's independence struggle. This was said by Minister of Internal Affairs Francisco Magalhaes Paiva, who headed the Angolan leadership delegation at the talks with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev. The internal affairs minister emphasized that the visit will provide an opportunity for an all-round discussion on a broad range of issues in bilateral relations. We are highly impressed, he remarked, that Angola should have been the first stage in the Russian foreign minister's first trip to Africa.

Responding to this, Kozyrev said the notions of "friendship and solidarity" provide a very exact definition of the nature of Russian-Angolan relations. Our countries are bound together by a long history, the minister continued, and we now have significant potential for extracting everything positive that has been accrued in the past and using it for the good of our peoples. The choice of Angola as the first stage of our delegation's tour of African countries is far from fortuitous, Kozyrev remarked. He expressed the conviction that Russia and Angola, possessing as they do immense resources, can and should cooperate "in the present period of profound changes."

### Holds News Conference

*LD2802192892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1954 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Aleksandr Korzun and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Excerpt] Luanda, 27 Feb (TASS)—[Passage omitted] Speaking at a news conference before flying out of Luanda, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev expressed "profound satisfaction" with the outcome of his working visit to the People's Republic of Angola. "The visit has been a short one but it has been very full, and I believe we are now convinced that it was no mistake to make Angola the first country the Russian delegation visited," the minister said. "Dramatic changes" have taken place in Russia, he went on, but we are now embarked on the path of civilized development and wish to remain friends with Africa in our common movement toward democracy, the observance of all human rights, and the creation of a dymanic market economy. Russia sees itself as a "normal, great power", and we are certain that Angola, as one of the major countries of Africa, will also play a prominent role as a democratic and dynamicaly developing state.

The minister expressed his conviction that the process of changes in the People's Republic of Angola is irreversible. He gave an assurance that "all forces participating in the political process in Angola who are committed to democratic development and to honest free elections in September this year can count on Russia as a friend and ally."

Touching on the problem of Angola's debt to the former USSR, the minister emphasized: "We proceed from the premise that a debt has to be paid, and we apply this both to ourselves and to other states. Russia will pay its debts, and I am certain that Angola too will be faithful to such

obligations," Kozyrev said. He said he is certain that experts from the two countries will examine these matters. The main thing is that the debt should not become a bone of contention but rather should be used for the development of new forms of cooperation in the framework of the transition to a market economy.

On the question of bilateral military ties, the Russian minister ventured the opinion that "here too an opportunity exists to preserve everything positive that has been accumulated, while leaving ideological cooperation behind us."

Kozyrev emphasized that Russia is ready in the future to render "expert technical support" to the Angolan Armed Forces in using the weaponry they have, and to cooperate on this level with any government the Angolan people elects.

### Angolan Visit Viewed

*MB2902123492 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Vladimir Serov commentary]

[Text] The first official visit by the Russian foreign minister to the African Continent has started in Angola. Andrey Kozyrev noted that it was not just coincidence that he chose Angola to be the first phase of his tour through Africa. According to him, Russia was beginning the work of civilized development, and together with its African friends, wanted to move forward to democracy, the fulfillment of human rights, and the creation of a free market economy.

The Russian foreign minister expressed the certainty that Angola, one of the biggest Africa countries, will play a substantial role as a democratic, dynamic, developing state. He also confirmed that all Angolan parties involved in the current political process, and who place their hope on democratic development, can rely on Russia as their friend and ally.

Showing support for the democratic process in Angola and confirming the consequences of ties between this country and Russia—which has become the hereditary successor of the former USSR on the international front—were not the sole objective of the visit. In addition, two other concrete issues were discussed during the negotiations: Angola's debt to the Soviet Union and the prospects of military cooperation between the two countries. A large portion of this debt, which according to some evidence amounts to $4 billion, is a result of the military aid which the Soviet Government for many years gave the Angolan leadership. But two divergent statements concerning this debt have been made by the Angolan Government.

On the one hand, it was said that military debt does not normally get paid back. On the other hand, an opinion was expressed that this problem can be discussed during negotiations, if there are any documents that confirm military aid was given within the framework and constraints of trade relations. Andrey Kozyrev, in turn, said Russia and other countries had to pay their debts. Therefore he was sure Angola would also fulfill its commitments. Both parties decided to find a civilized solution to this problem, which could constitute a basis for future bilateral economic cooperation.

Concerning military ties, the Russian foreign minister noted that the two countries should leave their ideological cooperation in the past. He emphasized that Russia was prepared to offer the Angolan Armed Forces expert technical support. The Russian Government would cooperate with any country which the Angolan people selected.

During the meeting with members of the Russian military delegation in Angola, Kozyrev announced this mission would soon be concluded, but that some Russian military and technical experts would stay behind. Yet it appears that the Russian foreign minister was sincere when he said to journalists at the end of his Angolan tour that he was very satisfied with the outcome of his visit to the country. He noted that his discussions with President Dos Santos had made a great impression on him, seeing that it was clear the two countries were striving for friendly ties.

Regarding relations with Angola, or for that matter with Africa as a whole, the minister stressed the existing grounds for optimism. This optimism was also stressed by the chief of the Angolan delegation at the talks, Interior Minister Paiva. He said the enormous changes taking place in the two countries, and in the world at large, must not hinder the consolidation of friendship and cooperation between Russia and Angola, friendship and cooperation which started from the very first day of the Angolan people's struggle for independence.

### Kozyrev Begins Official Visit to South Africa

*LD2802140292 Moscow TASS in English 1330 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Kulik and Georgiy Shmelyev]

[Text] Pretoria, February 28 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev met with President Frederik de Klerk of South Africa on Friday [28 February] to discuss current changes in both countries. Kozyrev is on an official visit here. The meeting was also attended by South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha. Botha pointed to the similarity of problems facing Russia and South Africa and called for mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries. Botha said a decision on the establishment of diplomatic ties between Russia and South Africa will be made later in the day. Kozyrev expressed gratitude to the South African authorities for the warm reception and voiced hope Russia and South Africa will continue to adhere to principles of democracy and human rights and will continue their reforms.

Kozyrev conveyed an invitation to De Klerk from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to visit Moscow this year.

### To Visit Europe

*OW2802154192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1330 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By diplomatic correspondents M. Mayorov and I. Porshnev; from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is continuing his tour of African countries. After a visit to Angola he arrived in South Africa from where he'll fly to Egypt. His initial plans included stops in Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire. However a few days before his departure from Moscow these countries were excluded from the program of his visit.

As a prominent member of the African department of Russia's Foreign Ministry told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama's] correspondents "no political considerations should be seen in this". "Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire were excluded from the program of A. Kozyrev's tour simply because the Foreign Minister must necessarily be in Moscow on March 2".

The minister's press secretary Mikhail Kamynin explained: it's connected with the fact that on March 5 A. Kozyrev is to begin a 7-day tour (with return to Moscow on March 12) which will take him to Oslo, Copenhagen and Brussels. On March 10 in Brussels A. Kozyrev is to join a session of the North-Atlantic Cooperation Council formed last December. At the session all CIS members will be admitted to the Council.

On his way home the Foreign Minister might make a brief stop in St. Petersburg to inform the city's mayor Anatoliy Sobchak of the results of his tour, said M. Kamynin.

### Diplomatic Relations Established

*LD2802170492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Kulik and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Pretoria, 28 Feb (TASS)—A joint statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Africa was signed here today by Andrey Kozyrev and Roelof Botha, the two countries' foreign ministers

This does away with an anachronism that has dogged Moscow and Pretoria since the times when the true interests of countries and peoples were sacrificed to ideological dogma. At the signing ceremony, held at the Union Building government house, there was also an exchange of notes establishing consulates general in Capetown and St. Petersburg.

### Further on Relations

*LD2802232292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1847 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Kulik and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Pretoria, 28 Feb (TASS)—A joint statement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Africa [RSA] was signed here today by Andrey Kozyrev and Roelof Botha, the heads of the countries' foreign ministries.

Guided by an intention to organize and develop mutual understanding and cooperation in the interests of the peoples of both countries and striving to promote the building of peaceful and equal relations, the RSA and Russia agreed to establish full-scale diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level, the document says.

Firmly adhering to the deep transformations they are conducting in their countries ensuring respect for human rights and basic liberties, including political and civil rights and proper socioeconomic living conditions for everyone without distinction, the sides stated their determination to build their relations on the basis of adherence to the principles of freedom and democracy and the norms of international law in accordance with the UN Charter. In line with the accords, the RSA interests section at the Austrian Embassy in Russia will be transformed into the RSA Embassy and the Russian interests section at the Austrian Embassy in the RSA will be transformed into the Russian Embassy.

The statement expresses confidence that the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and Russia accords with the tasks of ensuring international security and settling conflicts and contentious issues by the establishment of lasting peace and the development of cooperation in various regions of the world, including southern Africa.

### New Relations Praised

*LD2902103592 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Kulik and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Pretoria, February 29 TASS—South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof Botha described the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Russian Federation as a historic event in the life of the peoples in Africa's south and in the development of South African-Russian contacts.

Speaking after Friday's [28 February] ceremony to sign documents to this effect, he emphasised that reforms that are being effected in the two countries illustrate identity of Moscow's and Pretoria's view of the need to assert democracy and establish law-governed states.

This is why the governments of South Africa and Russia "can and must help each other at the present transitional phase of the development of the two countries when they face common problems and difficulties and are criticised from right and left," Botha said.

If democracy triumphs in Russia, that will signify support for reforms in South Africa. If democracy triumphs in South Africa, this will, respectively, strengthen the positions of democracy in the Russian Federation. The process of advance to democracy in the two countries is irreversable, Botha said.

In a reply speech, Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said he fully shares the views of his South African counterpart on the commonality of problems South Africa and Russia are faced with in overcoming the consequences of unacceptable socio-political systems that existed for many years.

The Russian minister emphasised the importance of the opportunity given to him in Pretoria and Johannesburg to meet and converse with "such outstanding figures of our times as President Frederik de Klerk of South Africa and the legendary human rights campaigner Nelson Mandela," who "expressed support for democratic transformations in Russia."

Kozyrev handed over two files of photostatic copies of archival documents, pertaining to the history of Russo-South African relations, to Roelof Botha.

One of the files contains materials about Russia's support for the Boers in their struggle against British colonialists at the beginning of this century.

The other file consists of documents concerning South African assistance to the allied countries during the second world war years.

Kozyrev and his party were due to leave for Capetown by air on Saturday [29 February] morning.

### Relations Viewed

*LD2902213192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev continued his visit to the Republic of South Africa today.

[Unidentified correspondent] Within the framework of already established diplomatic relations between the two countries, the head of the Russian foreign policy department handed his South African colleague, Roelof Botha, two folders of photocopies of archive documents. The material contained in one of them accounts of the support given by Russia to the Boers' struggle against the British colonialists early in the century. The second document concerns the assistance given by South Africa to the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition during the years of the war against fascism.

The current visit and the documents signed during the visit certainly have the nature of an historic event. The old barriers of ideological dogmas which brought isolation and alienation are now being replaced by relations of mutual understanding and cooperation. What is written on the fresh page of relations will clearly be dictated by national interests. It is logical to expect practical and concrete results to the benefit of both sides as the next phase in these relations, and in this regard the main area of cooperation appears to be the economic one.

Both South Africa and Russia are going through a period of trials. Along with this, together they produce around 80 percent of the world's gold, platinum, and other precious metals and minerals. South Africa is capable of becoming one of Russia's largest markets in Africa. Experts believe that cooperation is promising in the field of science and technology, and in developing tourism, and there are possibilities for the progressive development of all these links.

### Kozyrev Meets With Mandela

*LD2802181792 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Kulik and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Johannesburg, February 28—The African National Congress (ANC) welcomes South African relations with Russia and is confident bilateral relations between the two countries will continue to develop, ANC President Nelson Mandela said today. Mandela met today with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is on a visit to the Republic of South Africa.

Addressing journalists at the end of the meeting, the ANC leader said that his country is "on the threshold of the most important political changes", and it is important to develop relations with Russia. Mandela expressed his gratitude to the Russian leadership for its decision to retain ANC representation in Moscow.

Kozyrev said that his meeting "with this world famous defender of human rights" contributed to an understanding of the problems of today's South Africa. Russian President Boris Yeltsin has invited Mandela to visit Russia.

Mandela, talking to reporters said that the decision to establish formal diplomatic relations between Moscow and Pretoria, which is expected to be handed down today, is a "very sensitive question, but it is also important that Russia took a part in the development of the peace process in this country". Recalling the all-round support extended by the former Soviet Union, the South African leader expressed hope that Russia will continue this tradition.

### South African Visit Viewed

*LD0103072492 Moscow TASS in English*
*0657 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS special correspondents Sergey Kulik and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Capetown, March 1 TASS—Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, left here for Cairo on February 29 at the close of his three-day visit to South Africa.

A statement on the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries at embassy level was signed during his stay in South Africa. The two sides also decided to institute Russia's and South Africa's consulates-general in Capetown and St. Petersburg, respectively.

The local newspaper DIE BURGER described the main results of the Russian foreign minister's stay in South Africa as historic events in the life of the two countries whose peoples have been for long disunited by ideological dogmas contrary to their traditionally good disposition towards each other.

Kozyrev was received by South Africa's President Frederik de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, held talks with his South African counterpart, Roelof Botha, and met with leading representatives of South Africa's business community.

A wide range of matters concerning the development of bilateral Russian-South African relations was discussed during the dialogue in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Capetown. There was an exchange of views on the current processes of democratic transformations in the two countries, and priorities in the development of bilateral relations were revealed.

The two sides reaffirmed commitment to the principles of building a law-governed society, and observing human rights and their intention to promote the development of Russo-South African relations in most diverse spheres and to advance along the road of democratisation and cooperation.

Russia's foreign minister conveyed an invitation from President Boris Yeltsin to President Frederik de Klerk to visit Moscow before the end of this year. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

A similar invitation was conveyed to Nelson Mandela who, during a friendly conversation with Kozyrev in Johannesburg, expressed satisfaction with the development of South African-Russian contacts, proceeding from the assumption that Moscow's steps in this respect contribute to democracy in South Africa.

### Foreign Minister Kozyrev Arrives in Cairo

*LD0103091292 Moscow TASS in English*
*0828 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Mikhail Krutikhin and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Cairo, March 1 (TASS)—Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, arrived in Egypt this morning for a brief working visit.

He will be received by President Husni Mubarak, will meet his Egyptian and Libyan counterparts and will hold talks on the entire spectrum of Middle-Eastern problems and Russian-Egyptian relations.

At the airport Kozyrev was met by Usamah al-Baz, head of the political office of the president of the Arab Republic of Egypt and first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Addressing journalists at the airport, the Russian minister emphasized the importance of his forthcoming meetings in Egypt which he refered to as "key country of the region."

Usamah al-Baz, for his part, voiced confidence that "after Russia goes through the present transitional period, it will begin to play a befittingly important role in the Middle East" which has always been of "immense strategic importance" to Russia.

### Meets Egyptian President

*LD0103150192 Moscow TASS in English*
*1351 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Mikhail Krutikhin and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Cairo, March 1 TASS—President Husni Mubarak of the Arab Republic of Egypt today received Andrey Kozyrev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, who had arrived here for a brief working visit.

At the close of the meeting, the minister told journalists that a set of problems connected with the expansion of Russian-Egyptian contacts had been discussed. He said Russia regards Egypt as "the regional stability bulwark successfully holding out against the onslaught of fundamentalism and any other forms of extremism whatever the source."

The two sides, he said, spoke of their desire to continue to pursue a policy of cooperation and reaffirmed that "Russia and Egypt have been and will remain, perhaps, the most close friends in the region."

Kozyrev highly appreciated the attention with which the Egyptian leadership follows the development of events in the CIS.

During the meeting, Mubarak confirmed the earlier sent invitation to Russia's President Boris Yeltsin to visit Egypt.

For his part, the minister emphasised a desire of the Russian leadership to receive President Mubarak in Moscow for a visit.

An invitation was also extended to Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa to pay an official visit to Russia at an early date.

### Holds News Conference

*LD0103181192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1643 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Mikhail Krutikhin and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Cairo, 1 Mar (TASS)—The results of a visit to Cairo by the Russian Federation's minister of foreign affairs have been described as "very positive" by his Egyptian colleague 'Amr Musa. Speaking at a news conference held at the airport prior to the Russian foreign policy department head's departure for the homeland, the Egyptian minister noted the importance of constant consultations between the two countries on a wide range of issues.

Andrey Kozyrev stated at the news conference that his talks in Egypt had touched on three sets of problems: First, these were issues of bilateral economic, political, cultural, and other relations; second, ways for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict were discussed; as well as third, opposition to extremism in all possible forms.

The Russian minister was received today by Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt. The same day he held talks with leaders of diplomatic departments of Egypt and Libya. The brief working visit to Cairo was the final stage of Andrey Kozyrev's African tour within the framework of which he also visited Angola and South Africa.

### Ready To Become Mediator

*LD0103105792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0847 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Mikhail Krutikhin and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Cairo, 1 March (TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has stated that Russia is ready to play a mediating role regarding terrorism charges made against Libyan citizens. "This is in our interests and is troubling us," he told journalists today after a meeting in Cairo with Ibrahim Muhammad Bishari, secretary of the Libyan People's External Liaison and International Cooperation Bureau. The minister arrived in Egypt this morning on a brief working visit as part of his trip to African countries.

However, the Russian minister added, it was emphasized in this regard that there can be no compromises in the matter of stopping terrorism. He said: This matter must be settled in the way envisaged by the unanimously adopted resolution of the UN Security Council and in my view the best thing would be to hand over the suspects to the UN secretary general without any conditions and for him to take further action himself in accordance with the provisions of the resolution. There will thereby be no loss of face or loss of any political positions. It is better not to protract this problem since by logic the Security Council will otherwise be forced to take further steps to carry out its decision. It seems to me that everyone could be free of this problen right now on mutually acceptable conditions. I hope that the Libyan side will ponder this matter further and heed our friendly advice. We, for our part, are ready within the framework of the decision envisaged by the Security Council to play any mediating role, he said.

Libya, Andrey Kozyrev continued, regards Russia as a great power capable of playing and actually playing a responsible role, inter alia, in the Near East and the Security Council. During a thorough conversation about bilateral relations the sides noted their "long- standing and, in general, friendly nature." The issue of Libya paying off its debt to the former Soviet Union was examined. The Libyan side, the minister stressed, "on this issue holds the same view as Russia regarding its debts to other countries, that is: debts should be paid."

The heads of Russia's and Libya's foreign political departments spoke in favor of setting up a working group which would define a way to pay these debts promptly and efficiently. They agreed that a respectable Russian economic delegation would arrive in Tripoli within the next few days in order to examine all these issues. "Therefore, in my view, the situation in the sphere of bilateral relations is quite satisfactory; there is a high degree of understanding," Andrey Kozyrev concluded.

### Kozyrev Returns From African Tour 1 Mar

*LD0203070292 Moscow TASS in English 0649 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow March 2 (TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev returned to Moscow on Sunday [1 March] late evening after completing his visit to Angola, the Republic of South Africa and Egypt.

In Luanda the Russian minister held talks with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on questions of further development of the ways to find a peaceful solution to the Angolan crisis and on the state of Russo-Angolan relations.

In the South African republic's capital Andrey Kozyrev and the South African Foreign Minister Roelof Fredrik Botha signed a joint declaration on establishment of

full-fledged diplomatic relations between the two countries and decided to open, correspondingly, consulate generals in Cape Town and St. Petersburg. The head of the Russian foreign department held meetings with the South African President Frederik de Klerk and the President of the African National Congress Nelson Mandela. They discussed the state and prospects of development of Russo-South African relations.

In Egypt Andrey Kozyrev was received by President Husni Mubarak, had meetings with his Egyptian and Libyan opposite numbers and held talks on general problems of the Middle East crisis and bilateral relations.

### Ambassador to U.S. Takes Up Post

*LD0103070792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1946 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash]

[Excerpt] Washington, 29 February—Vladimir Lukin, who was appointed first ambassador of Russia to the United States, arrived in the American capital today. Representatives of the U.S. State Department warmly welcomed him at the airport.

According to a press statement circulated by the Russian Embassy, V. Lukin is presently a member of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, chairman of the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties, and chairman of the drafting council for working on the new constitution of Russia. He is a People's Deputy of the Russian Federation and a member of the Council of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

The Russian ambassador to the United States is a doctor of historical sciences and a professor. He has penned a number of books dedicated to the problems of international relations, several of which have been translated into foreign languages. [Passage omitted]

### No U.S. POW's Documents Found in KGB

*PM2802150792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 92 p 1*

[D. Babich report: "American Prisoners: Not Listed"]

[Excerpt] At yesterday's briefing at the Russian Federation Security Ministry's Public Relations Center, representatives of state security organs stated that no documents on the alleged presence in Russia and other former USSR republics of American prisoners of war had been found in the archives of the former KGB. However, it is true that several American aircraft were shot down over Russian territory in the fifties and sixties.

It was announced at the briefing that after the war, Soviet camps did contain American citizens who had fought on the side of fascist Germany. Some of them disappeared into the Russian heartland; by 1947, 62 people had been repatriated to the United States. [passage omitted]

### Trade Official Prioritizes Forms of U.S. Aid

*OW0103191092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1438 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[From the "Soviet Business Report;" transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The United States will shortly remove restrictions on trade with Russia, in particular the Jackson-Vanick amendment and the Stevenson ruling, if Russia signs the trade agreement which had been concluded between the USSR and the United States. Jack Murphy, President of Dresser Industries and co-chairman of the Trade and Economic Council (the former American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council) announced this on Monday at a meeting with the Council's Russian co-chairman, Arkadiy Volskiy. Mr. Murphy stated that he had held discussions with U.S. Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleberger. According to Mr. Murphy, for the first time in many years the U.S. administration has been encouraging American companies to make a place for themselves on the Russian market and in other CIS countries.

Mr. Volskiy proposed four top priority ways in which U.S. companies and their partners in Russia and the CIS could cooperate: intellectual assistance, food aid, conversion help and work in the oil and gas extracting industry. He remarked that the model for such cooperation is being developed presently by IBM.

The annual meeting of the Trade and Economic Council will take place in Moscow from 26-28 May. It is surmised that more than 400 leaders of American firms will be present at the meeting. A national U.S. trade fair will be held at the same time, at which more than 150 firms will be represented.

### Missing U.S. Humanitarian Aid Not Found

*LD2802133292 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Text] Moscow, February 27 ITAR-TASS—A load of U.S. humanitarian aid mysteriously disappeared from a defence ministry's warehouse on the eve of the New Year and has not been found yet, a Moscow military prosecutor's office, investigating the case, told TASS on Thursday [27 February].

According to a letter of Mr. Kulbida, head of the "Vek" scientific-industrial firm, sent to the Russian president's office and the Russian prosecutor's office, the load was shipped from the United States to the "Vek" firm.

Upon arrival at the Chkalovski Airport nearby Moscow, the load was claimed by unidentified people, who introduced themselves as officials of the Soviet Peace Committee. But they failed to get the cargo.

Then the load was transported to one of Defence Ministry's warehouses and has not been traced since then.

### Food Aid Agreement Signed With Barcelona

*LD0203060692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1532 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Shekhovtsov]

[Text] Madrid, 27 Feb (TASS)—Anatoliy Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg, who is in Barcelona on an official visit, has signed a trade agreement on supplies of food and essentials worth $470 million to the town on the Neva, which is twinned with the capital of Catalonia. The agreement was signed, for the Spanish side, by Enric Bernat and Luis Prefaneta, managers of the private company Djuspi, which was set up by Catalan entrepreneurs to expand trade with Russia.

In accordance with this agreement, 80 percent of the supplies will consist of Spanish food and 20 percent of goods from other EC countries. It is a question of supplies of beef, pork, sugar, rice, baby food, and other foodstuffs. The local press points out that this is the largest non-government deal in the history of relations between the two countries. The governments of Spain and Russia are acting as guarantors.

Anatoliy Sobchak was received by Jordi Pujol, chairman of the autonomous government of Catalonia, and met Pascual Maragal, the mayor of Barcelona, and representatives of business circles. The mayor of St. Petersburg told his interlocutors about the current situation in Russia and difficulties with implementing the reforms, and voiced interest in increasing Spanish investment in Russia. A number of specific projects was discussed with entrepreneurs—specifically on the construction of 10 gas stations in St. Petersburg and a leather-processing factory. The Spaniards are also willing to participate in the conversion of defense enterprises and their transfer to the production of foodstuffs.

### Reform Movement Urges Dialogue With Ukraine

*LD0103123992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1959 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow, 29 February (TASS)—A sitting of the Political Council of the Internatonal Movement for Democratic Reforms [MDR] was held here today. The council discussed a number of important issues, inter alia, the problems of Crimea, Nagorno-Karabakh, and the government's economic policy, Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, MDR cochairman, told the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

An appeal to the leadership and public of Russia and Ukraine was adopted at the initiative of three Ukrainian and three Russian regional centers of the movement setting out ideas of holding civic dialogue between the two republics. The dialogue is expected to be held within the framework of a permanently active Russian-Ukrainian forum on the MDR basis.

Shostakovskiy believes that the international MDR remains until this day the only sociopolitical structure which could promote interstate cooperation between the former USSR's republics. The international MDR, he stressed, has good political prospects but "it has not yet been put to full use."

Commenting upon the report given at the sitting by academician Nikolay Petrakov, in which the latter criticized the Russian Government's economic policy, Shostakovskiy stressed that the prominent economist had given his personal point of view. In Shostakovskiy's words, participants in the sitting agreed to develop an economic program of their own so as to offer not so much criticism of the government but constructive ideas.

According to Shostakovskiy, the fact that Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev, and Stanislav Shatalin, three cochairmen of the MDR, did not attend the sitting was due to objective reasons; this does not mean they are distancing themselves from active participation in the movement.

### Russian, Ukrainian Ministers Sign Agreement

*LD2802215192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Interview with Russian Interior Minister Viktor Fedorovich Yerin and Ukrainian Interior Minister Vasilikhin by correspondent S. Dadyko; place and date note given—live or recorded; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Dadyko] The Russian and Ukrainian interior ministers today signed a cooperation agreement between the two ministries and a protocol on the talks between delegations from the two sovereign states. The agreement has no political aspects whatsoever, being of a purely professional nature. Viktor Fedorovich, what is the essence of the document you have just signed, and what possibilities does its signing open up for cooperation between the two ministries?

[Yerin] New opportunities for strengthening joint action between us in combatting crime, primarily its most dangerous forms, namely organized crime, corruption, and drug trafficking.

[Vasilikhin] This is a historic document. It is the first time such an agreement has been signed, and I would say there is not a single point or paragraph on which we would have any difference of opinion.

### Three Rallies Held in Moscow 1 Mar

*LD0103120492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Text] A group of citizens calling themselves the Russian Party assembled at the building of the Ostankino Russian Television and Radio company. Their main slogan is Russian Television for the Russian People.

The Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners of the Baltics is holding a protest action near the embassies of Latvia and Lithuania. One of the demands is that the case of Sergey Parfenov, deputy commander of the Riga OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment], be handed over to Russia.

Also, the organization of Cuban emigrants in Moscow, the Cuban Alliance, is holding its action at Lubyanka [former KGB building]. It is aimed against the persecution of dissidents in Cuba. Similar events will take place today in the United States, Canada, Switzerland, and Venezuela.

### Country To Participate in Peacekeeping Forces

*LD2702142992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1411 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[Text] Moscow, Feb 26 (TANJUG)—Russia will participate, at least with a symbolic number of people, in the U.N. peace-keeping forces which are to arrive in Yugoslavia for maintaining peace and creating conditions for the beginning of a political dialogue for settling the crisis.

TANJUG's Moscow correspondent learned this today from official circles which say that five civilian observers from Russia are already in Yugoslavia and that it is expected that they will total around thirty.

The same circles say that a smaller number of military police can also be expected to arrive from Russia, while the Russian Government should adopt a decision on this, since it is in charge of such questions.

As far as the contingent of armed soldiers is concerned, the question is quite complicated since the Russian president is not competent for this but rather the parliament, which decides on the basis of his proposal which, as heard, so far is lacking. There are quite a few obstacles with regard to this, including legal ones.

### Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia Said Hasty

*PM0203152992 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 92 p 4*

[Article by Academician Pavel Volobuyev and Leading Scientific Staffer Lyudmila Tyagunenko: "Risky Overtaking Maneuver: Why The Rush to Recognize Croatia?"]

[Text] The fledgling Russian Foreign Ministry has managed to outdo even the U.S. State Department in recognizing the independence of Croatia and Slovenia although clearly the Americans deliberately let our chaps get the better of them. In recognizing Croatia and Slovenia, the Russian diplomatic department cites the need "to take account of political realities and not lag behind the partners in the European process."

We could have accepted that but, as we know, there are in reality different options. Taking them into account, choosing the best, and envisaging the possible consequences of the chosen course is the duty of any politician. But what realities does our Foreign Ministry have in mind on this occasion?

Former Communists and even a Titoist general are in power in Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia. To remain in power they gambled on nationalism which, as reality shows, has assumed a very unappealing form. It is no coincidence that the EC commission (comprising the chairmen of the constitutional courts of five countries) initially did not recommend the immediate recognition of Croatia because there were plenty of facts to prove the most flagrant genocide against the Serbs there.

We must pay tribute to the Serbian leadership. For that leadership the fate of its people, wherever they may live, is certainly not a secondary question. It must be that the vague reference to realities conceals something else—a desire not to "offend" the FRG (a zealous supporter of Croatian and Slovenian independence). But unfortunately, here, too, there is no special logic or consistency in our policy. For example, the question of the restoration of the Volga Germans' autonomous formation has not been resolved. The infamous "reality" means the recognition of our foreign policy weakness and also, perhaps, the lack of a clear concept of the future of Russia itself and its foreign policy course.

One way or another, Russia's recognition of Croatian and Slovenian independence does not have a sufficiency sensible justification. Our top state leadership did not want to take account of the opinion of Serbia and Montenegro. All the time they looked hopefully toward Russia as the main protector. Serbian President Milosevic asked Russian President Yeltsin to refrain from recognizing Croatia and Slovenia (as the United States is still doing). But Milosevic's request was ignored. The act of recognition caused a storm in Belgrade. Then suddenly everything fell silent...

Russia has now ignored not only the position of Serbia but of Yugoslavia, too, which remains to this day a subject of international law. Instructive historical precedents come to mind. In the past there was no mention of the "new political thinking," on the contrary, imperialist diktat held sway. But even then interested foreign states still took more account of the position of the state from which newly formed states had separated than happens nowadays.

For example, on 6 December 1917, the Finnish parliament proclaimed that country's state independence. But was it immediately recognized by Germany and Sweden? Contrary to expectations they were in no hurry to give a

quick, positive answer. Although the Finnish rulers of the time did not want to turn to the hated bolsheviks in Petrograd they had to send a government delegation there. It was only on 31 December 1917 when V.I. Lenin signed the decree on the Soviet Government's recognition of Finland's independence that it became a subject of international law.

What is worrying is that the undue haste of our Foreign Ministry to recognize the former SFRY republics might rebound on the Russian Federation itself. After all, it has inherited certain geopolitical interests and historical traditions. There is also that far-reaching concept of long-term interests, which are significantly different from short-term and immediate interests. And whether some of our highly moral current affairs writers like it or not, such foreign policy categories as the sphere of interests and ancient traditions of alliance have not disappeared either.

The whole world watches each of Moscow's foreign policy demarches with intense interest. Is its word still reliable, will it remember its friends past and present, does it deserve trust as a great power? After all at other times, after the Civil War, for example, we were far weaker and poorer than now but we were not lacking in national pride and independence.

One can only welcome Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev's recent speech in Geneva on our country's intention to switch the emphasis from the formal recognition of human rights to the creation of a mechanism for their implementation. It is just that this mechanism does not operate selectively but universally, especially near Russia itself. In those places where Moscow's voice has always been heeded with special attention and hope.

### Treaty With Armenia Viewed as 'False Start'

*924C0748A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Feb 92 p 7*

[Gagik Karapetyan report: "Moscow-Yerevan: Diplomatic False Start"]

[Text] Yerevan—The number of countries that have recognized independent Armenia has now passed 80. The Americans, as the trailblazers, have been given a whole floor of the fashionable Razdan government hotel. But even the arrival of Secretary of State Baker did not, as expected, help solve the complex problem of a search for ready buildings for the American and other foreign missions. The republic Foreign Ministry, incidentally, had also received a request-recommendation from Russia that it select a "roof" for the future embassy in a "prestigious," as the letter from Moscow said, area of the Armenian capital....

Meanwhile Armenia still does not have a single ratified treaty on interstate relations. Whereas the Armenia-Georgia treaty has not taken effect on account of the well-known events which have prevented an exchange of instruments of ratification, with Lithuania there was a different reason. Yerevan ratified the treaty, but Vilnius confined itself to an exchange of diplomatic notes concerning the parties' intention to open embassies in the capitals of the two republics. But there has been no ratification here either. As far, on the other hand, as the treaty with Russia is concerned, the parliament on Krasnaya Presnya has postponed ratification. How come?

"I believe that undue haste was displayed at the time of specification of the wording of the treaty," Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Committee, believes. "In the original version a contentious article of the treaty made provision in a conflict situation for 'immediately holding the appropriate negotiations.' This wording does not preclude the rendering of immediate assistance, which is recorded in the new version also. But the greatest caution was expressed by those of my colleagues who may provisionally be called isolationists. These deputies are reluctant to intervene in any affairs outside of the republic, completely forgetting about Russia's historical and strategic interests. Renunciation of this treaty would render null and void Russia's entire natural foreign policy, from tsarist times through our day. There is disregard for the historical mutual orientation of our states, which could play a part in the geopolitical situation which is taking shape. After all, an entirely different configuration of states and blocs of them is now being created on the political map with which we are familiar. I personally think that it is essential to ratify the treaty with Armenia, not tabling it for any length of time."

"We believe that in the form in which the text of the treaty was presented to the Armenian parliament, ratification is simply undesirable," Shavarsh Kocharyan, deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Commission for External Relations, believes. "From the legal standpoint the ill-fated Article 3 affords grounds for various interpretations, and it would be desirable for it not to be in the wording of the treaty at all. The more so in that Article 6 speaks of the close cooperation of the high contracting parties in questions of the assurance of national security and the organizational development of defense. It says here also that the forms of interaction on these matters will be specified by a separate agreement. It is here that all questions of mutual interest could be regulated in sufficient detail. In our view, the optimum version at this time would be a meeting of delegations of Russia and Armenia, authorized by the presidents, which would make agreed adjustments to the text of the treaty prior to its ratification in both parliaments."

There is nothing to add to these two "mirror" opinions. It remains merely to summon up patience and wait for the "windows" which will enable members of parliament of Russia and Armenia to meet. I am sure that the Russian flag will very shortly be flying alongside the U.S. flag in Yerevan. Armenia does not have nor has it had common borders with Russia. But there is, on the other hand, every reason for having the best relations with

Moscow. It is here that the diplomatic paradox lies: The more intensively Armenia develops mutual relations with its close neighbors—Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, and Iran—the better they will be with Russia. It is for this reason, therefore, many people believe, that it is essential to accelerate the work on a change in the tilt in the foreign policy of both Armenia and Russia. A confident start is essential following the false start over ratification of their interstate treaty.

### Japanese Influence in Kurils Protested

*LD0203140892 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Eugene Belovitski]

[Text] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, March 2—Governor of the Sakhalin Region Valentin Fedorov called Japanese reluctance with the Russian Government decision to grant Koreans fishing fights near the southern Kurils, "an invasion into internal affairs of the state."

The head of the local administration told ITAR-TASS today that "policy of connivance and flirtation," maintained by Moscow, enables the Japanese management to consider the Kurils their own territory and to not recognise Russian rights to allow third countries' trawlers into its economic zone.

According to the source, "seeds sowed by certain high range officials got into the favourable Japanese ground." As a result "the southern neighbours request to participate in immediate division of the Russian fish."

The governor confirmed he no longer hesitated to avoid Japanese influence over the domestic trade.

Along with this, Fedorov emphasised that the situation over the Kurilean fish should become a lesson not only for Russians but for politicians of South Korea as well, as they should finally determine their official attitude towards the four islands of the Kurilean archipelago.

### Commentary on PRC Approval of Border Treaty

*OW2802112792 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 0900 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Kricheveskiy commentary; from the "Asian Affairs" program]

[Text] The National People's Congress [NPC] of the PRC has approved the Treaty Between China and the Soviet Union on the Eastern Sector of the Sino-Soviet Border. Our station commentator Kricheveskiy has the following comments:

News of the approval has been well received in Moscow. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation also approved the treaty two weeks ago; it has now officially gone into effect. Approval of the treaty by the legislative bodies of the two nations is conducive to the development of good-neighborly relations and cooperation in all areas including trade and the economy. While deliberating the document, the NPC pointed out that the treaty is in accord with the interests of the PRC and is beneficial for the stability of the border areas of both countries; and the development of normal relations between China and Russia.

Approval of the treaty by the legislative bodies of the two nations also shows that Russia is truly committed to fulfilling the commitments made by the former Soviet Union and that Beijing is fully committed to harmonizing its relations with its neighbor, the independent Russian Federation.

I would also like to remind our listeners that the treaty was signed in May 1991. Since then, how much water has flown into the sea through the Amur and other border rivers? How many unexpected, earth-shaking events have taken place? Even the Soviet Union no longer exists. The eastern sector of Sino-Soviet border has now become almost the entire border between Russia and China. Only a small section in the west is not covered in the treaty.

The situation in the border is decided, in large measure, by the [words indistinct] relations between the two neighboring nations. Territorial conflicts always lead to a worsening of relations between two nations. This was true of the [pre-1917] Russian-Chinese border. However, those conflicts are things of the past. Today, both Beijing and Moscow are looking forward. There are bright prospects for development. It would be best for us to take advantage of this excellent opportunity. I believe that developing relations with our great neighbor, China, is a fundamental foreign policy of the Russian Federation. The development of such relations can only be based on goodwill and mutual benefit. I would also like to emphasize that it should also be based on mutual respect. If we do so, [words indistinct] will be smooth sailing.

## Federation Affairs

### Yeltsin Approves Foundation on Economic Reforms

*LD2702223892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[Report by reporter A. Prokhorova from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Prokhorova] On 25 February Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin signed a decree on the formation of an international foundation for the support of Russia's economic reforms in [mezhdunarodnyy fond podderzhi ekonomicheskikh reform Rossii].

[Unidentified official] The foundation's main task is to act for specific individuals. Among the immediate tasks is assistance to Russian family farms [fermerstvo]. At present we intend to channel all our forces into assisting the spring sowing campaign. This is the number one task.

We understand this perfectly well. We think that the further progress of the entire economic reform in Russia will also depend on the successful resolution of this problem.

[Prokhorova] How does your foundation differ from the Gorbachev Foundation?

[Official] The Gorbachev and Shatalin foundations resolve more global problems. We are aimed at specific matters, at tackling tasks which are more mundane and which are closer to the territory of Russia and to its population.

[Prokhorova] The foundation is prepared to accept any idea, any initiative in support of its activity. Its telephone number is: 206-21-35. [video shows official with Yeltsin's decree on his desk]

## Yeltsin Gives Air Force Access to World Market

*OW2902143592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1259 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian president has given the Russian Air Force the right to tax-free exports of aviation equipment which is no longer in use. The amount of equipment to be exported has been limited to 1,600 aircraft so the Air Force's combat capacity be not damaged.

According to the president's decree on additional social guarantees for the Air Force's personnel, dated February 27, the Air Force will look for buyers, hold talks and sign protocols of intent on its own.

Export operations shall be carried out through the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, says the decree.

The money thus earned will be used for the construction of housing, for building up the social infrastructure, for increasing the personnel's salaries and for financing aviation-building programmes.

## Decree Allows Funds for Aviation Programs

*OW2902144192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1259 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] From 1992 to 2000, the Russian Air Force and ministry for industry have been allowed to invest 9 billion dollars gained from commercial operations and from involving Russian and foreign capital, in aviation-building programmes.

According to Boris Yeltsin's decree, the entire income gained from commercial activity will be used to promote the production of aviation equipment in Russia.

## Yeltsin Decree on Formation of Space Agency

*PM0103190792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Feb 92 First Edition p 2*

[Decree of the Russian Federation president "On the Structure of Space Activity Management in the Russian Federation," dated Moscow, the Kremlin, 25 February 1992 and signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin]

[Text] For the purposes of making efficient use of Russia's space-rocket complex in the interests of the Russian Federation's socioeconomic development, security, and international cooperation, I resolve:

1. The Russian Space Agency is to be formed under the Russian Federation Government.

The Russian Space Agency is to be entrusted with:
implementing state policy in the sphere of space research and utilization;
drawing up jointly with the Russian Academy of Sciences and interested ministries, departments, and organizations and submitting to the Russian Federation Government a draft state space program of the Russian Federation in the sphere of space systems, complexes, and facilities for scientific, national economic, and defense purposes;
exercising the functions of a general contractor for space systems, complexes, and facilities for scientific, national economic, and defense purposes being developed in accordance with the state space program of the Russian Federation;
participating in the creation and utilization of space systems, complexes, and facilities of dual (military and civilian) purpose being developed under defense orders in accordance with the state space program;
coordinating commercial space projects and assisting in their implementation;
developing the scientific research and test base of cosmonautics jointly with organizations and enterprises in industry and creating the scientific-technical and technological groundwork for improving space-rocket equipment;
cooperating with corresponding organs of the CIS member states and of foreign countries in the sphere of space research and utilization, as well as the ground installations of the space infrastructure within its competence.

2. Yuriy Nikolayevich Koptev is to be appointed general director of the Russian Space Agency under the Russian Federation Government.

The general director of the Russian Space Agency is to submit to the Russian Federation Government within two weeks a draft statute on the Russian Space Agency for approval.

3. Consent is to be given to the proposal of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Federation Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technical Policy

to set up the Interdepartmental Expert Commission on Space, which will provide expert advice and will select plans for space systems, complexes, and facilities for scientific and national economic purposes.

The Russian Federation Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technical Policy and the Russian Space Agency, jointly with the Russian Academy of Sciences and interested ministries and departments, are to submit to the Russian Federation Government within two months a statute on the Interdepartmental Expert Commission on Space and its personnel for approval.

B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation
Moscow, the Kremlin, 25 February 1992

### Yeltsin To Vacation in Sochi 3-15 Mar

*LD0303094692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Text] Our correspondent has learned from well-informed sources that President Boris Yeltsin is leaving Moscow on Tuesday [3 March] for a short, planned vacation. Yeltsin will spend it at one of the sanatoria near Sochi. During his leave, the president will be working on important political initiatives that he intends to announce at the Congress of People's Deputies, which begins 6 April. The Russian president will return to Moscow on 15 March.

### Deputy Premier Gaydar Discusses Reforms

*LD0103230792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1832 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Interview with Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, Russian deputy prime minister and minister of finance, by commentator Aleksandr Shashkov in Moscow; date not given; from the "Facing Russia" program—recorded]

[Text] [Shashkov] Good evening! You are watching Facing Russia. Today our questions are being answered by Yegor Timurovich Gaydar, deputy prime minister and minister of finance of the Russian Government. Yegor Timurovich, the latest session of the government took place this week, and clearly it can be called a landmark session. The first stage of reforms has ended and the second is beginning, judging by the memorandum. There were quite a few questions regarding the first stage, and therefore I would like to ask you just one question: Did you foresee when you were planning the reforms that as a result of the first stage of price liberalization, the prices of some products would increase by 100 times?

[Gaydar] Without any doubt. It was obvious that the prices of certain goods would increase by hundreds of times. But macroeconomically, from the point of view of the economy and not the specific enterprise, the significant thing is the reaction of the general price level. The acceleration of inflation rates after their initial leap in connection with the elimination of the monetary (?overhang), and the risk of entering into a hyperinflationary spiral. Here our forecasts were justified and it became clear that it is possible to cast off the monetary (?overhang) without setting off the mechanism of hyperinflation. In history, no one has ever known hyperinflation during the course of which the value of the national currency increases.

[Shashkov] Now the second stage is beginning. You intend to further release prices, leaving only, I think, literally three areas—children's food, medicines, and, I think, communal services. And in particular you are releasing fuel prices. Now according to your forecasts, in April, because of this, the increase in price levels will come to another 50 or 75 percent. Where do such figures come from? Can they too be forecast, and will these figures not be increased during the process of price liberalization?

[Gaydar] Now that demand limiters have begun to work, the choice between the rates of price increases connected with the liberalization of fuel prices and a large-scale fall in production is a question of alternatives. We can, in principle, keep the rate of increases in fuel prices under the conditions of liberalization at a lower level. It is economically possible—if tricky politically. We can limit it to 30 or 40 percent by relying on a strict financial and credit policy. But then we will have to pay with a sharper fall in production. We can release financial and monetary regulators a little further—then the shock to production will be less on the energy consuming branches of the economy, but the rate of price increases will be higher. We are orienting ourselves toward the task of holding back inflation following liberalization of fuel prices at a level of 50 or 75 percent per month. In principle, there is freedom for maneuver here, allowing us, while taking account of the way in which things are going in production, to make adjustments to the policy that is being implemented.

[Shashkov] But won't raising fuel prices cause a recession in production?

[Gaydar] Raising fuel prices will inevitably cause a recession in production in energy-consuming industries. So far there has not been a single post-communist country that has undergone stabilization of the economy and launching of market mechanisms without a recession of at least 20 percent. Even in fortunate Czechoslovakia, which did not inherit major financial imbalances and a foreign economic liquidity crisis, the payment for this launch was such. The point is simply that the launch of the market inevitably and immediately exposes a number of sectors where production is not economically justified and is excessive. In our country, there is the military-industrial complex. There is the complex which used to work for industries in the groundwork cycle [nulevoy tsikl], for instance, those with zero returns: land improvement, large-scale and inefficient agricultural engineering that is obviously loss-making, from the point of view of the possibilities of money-backed demand,

and consumes a vast amount of metal. Heavy aviation engineering is overdeveloped. In virtually every country, crisis-ridden industries whose production is, in general, unjustified in economic terms on such a scale, come to light, and they begin to contract, and we shall experience the same thing.

[Shashkov] Perhaps people would say this is another populist question, but it is probably of interest to all: When and how do you think that prices will fall?

[Gaydar] Price falls?

[Shashkov] Reductions in prices, let us put it that way. So far, all they are doing is growing. When will they begin to stabilize, and to drop?

[Gaydar] Well, first, you seem very optimistic! I do not recall any modern economy in recent decades having seen mass price reductions, not anywhere. We do not set ourselves such a task; the task we set is to stabilize price levels, and bring inflation down to a minimum rate. As it happens, the specific feature of our situation is that prices here for a range of goods, compared with the extreme high levels of January, have fallen noticeably in February for the most important foods, and so on. But this is not a long-term tendency. It was connected with excess price rises which were substantially above the capabilities of money-backed demand at the beginning of January.

[Shashkov] By the end of the year you plan to fit price levels in with world standards. But what will happen to wages?

[Gaydar] One can reckon that wage levels, relative to price levels and taking into consideration a realistic market rate for the currency, will rise by a proportion that is natural for our level of development, let's say, the proportions of Eastern Europe. I think that if we succeed, this is a quite achievable task by 1993.

[Shashkov] I have seen a memorandum adopted at the latest session of the government, and there you say that we expect to ensure protection for the most vulnerable groups of the population in the course of the transitional period. In general, there is constant talk about this. But, at the same time, looking at all the subsequent points, they speak of reducing subsidies, going as far as reductions in unemployment benefits, and increasing neither the pension fund nor the social security fund. You intend to avoid strict wage indexation in the budget-funded organizations according to the level of inflation. Well, somehow this does not suggest protection of the population, but the contrary.

[Gaydar] No, protection of the population can be exercised only by the population itself. We can only protect the most vulnerable low income groups because everything else is just redistribution of money from one pocket to another. We are talking about a different thing here, what we are saying is that our system of social support was always extremely unjust and irresponsible. For example, funds for construction and maintenance of state housing were first going into the pockets of the highly paid, wealthy, high- status groups. And, say, the rural population did not get anything from this. We had two strata—one which was paying in full for all the expenses connected with construction and maintenance of housing [word indistinct] and the other which was getting all this for free and paid nothing. It is very difficult to explain this socially to anyone. This, after all, means raising the level to which these expenses are to be addressed.

This does not mean that in order to get an additional large sum of money from somewhere and put this toward everybody's social protection, we should take that sum from their pockets straight away. It means that this money will really go to the most needy, those who are in a most difficult situation. A massive, wide-scale support for the unemployed which does not stimulate their return to the employment sphere and the effective redistribution of the labor resources means an enormous additional burden for the budget and the way toward still higher unemployment, nothing else.

[Shashkov] Thus, the pensioners and employees of the organizations maintained on the budget are getting into a rather undesirable situation and are far less protected than workers in the industrial branches and private enterprises.

[Gaydar] I would not envy the workers in the private enterprises and industrial branches so much under the conditions of a structural crisis. Already now it is becoming clear that the harsh drop in demand puts a limitation on wage growth in this sector and, moreover, creates certain discomfort in some people about the prospects of their own employment.

[Shashkov] All the same, do you agree that it is difficult to compare a miner's wages with, say, a teacher's?

[Gaydar] Yes, I completely agree with you here. This is really so. Moreover, at the moment we are negotiating with the miners...

[Shashkov, interrupting] And this causes a considerable social tension...

[Gaydar, interrupting] Yes, this indeed appears to cause considerable social tension and this is a very unpleasant fact. There is one way here—it is la[illegible]ting a normal market mechanism on the labor market. And this—almost its specter—is beginning to work already. Well, let us say the miners' wages seem to be extremely high now. The state has to spend large subsidies on this. This was natural and possible in a situation where in January we had frozen coal prices. Then the coalmen had a right to say that dear sirs, while we buy everything for free prices you force us to sell for regulated prices, so take up the responsibility for all our social problems.

We are now ready to move toward a radical release of fuel and power prices. It is becoming clear that the very

high wage increases given to the miners could lead to mass layoffs in their industry. This is becoming more widely understood, and so we are now holding intensive talks with the miners' unions for self-limitation by them on wages.

[Shashkov] The land privatization law comes into effect today. This is also one of the main tenets of your reforms. The government resolution on state incentives for private farms in 1992 envisages loan finance to help farmers, at eight percent annual interest. But there was an article in yesterday's IZVESTIYA about how the actual interest on loans is now 25 going on 35 percent. In Samara, unless I am mistaken, Oblast, farmers are on the verge of handing back the land and are wondering whether the bank is controlled by the government, about government guarantees.

[Gaydar] As you know, the banks are not under government control law in our country, in accordance with the law. [sentence as heard] You know that, of course. (?Therefore, in practice) too they are not under government control. We are talking with the banks, and with them are agreeing on coordinating our policy. The bank is of course operating its own very tight credit policy, and rightly so, and we will agree on what the bank needs from the government so that it can help those sectors of the economy that we currently want to help. For example, conversion of defense sector factories, farmers, fuel deliveries to agricultural producers, and so on.

[Shashkov] But did the government not give the farmers guarantees?

[Gaydar] The government guaranteed the farmers that...

[Shashkov, interrupting] And now it turns out that these guarantees are not being honored, on bank loans at least.

[Gaydar] I do not agree with you at all on that. These guarantees are being honored. We are going to work to get the required financial resources allocated, to compensate for part of the interest payments to the banks. Once these guarantees have been put into effect, we have to build up the appropriate finances in the state budget. They cannot just be conjured up in a flash.

[Shashkov] The spring planting is just around the corner. There is no money for fuel, no money for agricultural machinery, for seeds.

[Gaydar] The bank is now making loans available for these purposes, on favorable terms as per our reciprocal agreement.

[Shashkov] What do you consider to be the main obstacles now on the path of your reforms?

[Gaydar] The main obstacle on the path of our reforms in my view is the risk of political resistance to these reforms being stepped up. The fact is that when our government took up the levers of administration the view was widely held that this was a stand-in government, a kamikaze government. You remember this well.

[Shashkov] Yes, I do.

[Gaydar] It was understood, everyone understood that such a disagreeable, difficult thing as the freeing of prices had to be done—there were no doubts here, discussion about this was out of place—and they sought the people to carry the responsibility. They said the government must free the prices and thereafter get themselves out of the fire. Suddenly, it now turns out, to the surprise of many, the reform is working. It is working slowly, badly; we perhaps know better than anyone else how unsteady are these very, very weak signs of stabilization which have taken shape, if only in matters of finance and monetary circulation; how easy it would be to break up everything with a few clumsy actions and send the economy back in the direction of sharp decline, collapse, and hyperinflation.

In my opinion these signs of stabilization—small signs though they may be—bring a whole range of forces into a state of panic, both those who are very frightened of the success of the reforms because success in reform means the prerequisite for national state rebirth. You understand perfectly well that you cannot hold the country now by force, with paratroopers—you can only hold onto it via economic interests. And just as the road toward the collapse of the state begins with the collapse of the national currency, so the path to the rebirth of the state, in my view, begins with the stabilization of the national currency.

Now the risk that the reforms might begin working is uniting some very powerful forces that are opposed to the reforms. And there are also those who deceive themselves by sincerely thinking that the most difficult part lies behind us and that the time for laurels has now come, the time to give way to the eagles of the military industrial complex, which will take the country forward again. This is dangerous deception.

The most difficult stage is not yet behind us. We are only just coming to the serious problems connected with employment; we are only just approaching serious problems linked with the structural crisis. And now convulsive efforts being made to turn the helm of the ship of state in one direction or the other, to make it list heavily to port or heavily to starboard, are in my view extremely dangerous.

[Shashkov] At its latest session, the government looked at the low level of discipline at the local level. Do you think that this is due to political resistance, or simply a lack of discipline, or in certain cases to further some kind of specific interests?

[Gaydar] We looked at this not only at the local level but also in the central administration, which to a significant extent is demoralized. Last year saw wide-scale privatization by nomenklatura members for their own gain. For the first three months we were engrossed in purely economic and political issues, and did not have any opportunity to tackle this problem properly, or corruption among state officials. Now we are turning our

attention to it. And in doing so, we are of course up against an additional source of danger and resistance.

But anyway, at the same government session, the antimonopoly committee and the committee for state assets initiated the suspension of a very large-scale nomenklatura privatization. On Friday, the children of the state assets committee's chairman were involved in a car accident. Well, all sorts of things happen, but somehow I do not really believe that this was a coincidence. So now we are stepping up our search for capital hidden away abroad by private individuals and Soviet organizations.

When we decreed that corporate entities must register their bank accounts abroad, we were often accused of being naive and asked who on earth would register their accounts. As of March 15, in accordance with the law—there is such a law, (?it went through) in a couple of months—we are empowered to confiscate unregistered monies, large sums being a priority of course, belonging to Soviet organizations and individuals even. We are asked how are we going to find them? Well, it is not easy, but it can be done. Other countries have managed it.

We have just invited a major financial organization, which tracks down money abroad for governments. It found Marcos' accounts, it found numerous accounts of Saddam Husayn, and it found [word indistinct] accounts. Now it is working for us, and the first results are just beginning to show.

[Shashkov] In Kiev, there was a session of the interparliamentary commission. It adopted a memorandum on the preparation of national currencies. In particular, there was a phrase in IZVESTIYA about an agreement on introduction by Russia and Ukraine of national currencies. Not so long ago, a couple of weeks, reports emerged that the Gosznak [which prints money and other official papers] factory in Perm, if I remember correctly, or wherever is printing new Russian banknotes. Can you confirm or deny this?

[Gaydar] Yes, of course I can deny it. It was a question of the procedure for the introduction of national currencies, of the regulation of mutual relations in this connection in a civilized way. Of course, in the first place it was a question of the well-known intention of the government of Ukraine to introduce its own national currency and of the need to put our relations in this connection into good order—the procedure for the return of rubles, the procedure of organizing settlements and so on.

The Russian Government has already stated and continues to state that it considers it possible and necessary to save the current Union ruble. We can change the design of the banknotes, we can change the pictures on it and the personalities depicted on it, but it will be the same Soviet ruble, and it will operate. This is the pivot of our financial and monetary policy today.

[Shashkov] Your fate is being compared the whole time—it is being compared to that of Yavlinskiy's 500 days program; recently they have been saying that Pavlov, during his interrogation, has been saying that you are implementing what is virtually his program. To which of them do you think your program is closest?

[Gaydar] You know, how can I put it to you? My program is closest of all to what is called the main current of economic thought. It is simply based upon common sense and the recognition of the real problems of the process of transition. In this connection, it is natural, since these programs were addressed at a common situation that had come into being. There was an infinitely large amount that they had in common. Well, take the elimination of the budget deficit, this was the pivot of the 500 days program and it was the pivot of the efforts of Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov without any doubt whatsoever. Both of them envisaged the liberalization of prices. In the program of Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov—if you want me to talk about that one—the emphasis was never placed on deep structural reforms and privatization. Here, naturally, we are on opposite sides of the barricades.

The program of Grigoriy Alekseyevich Yavlinskiy contained, in my view, a number of rose-tinted, well-meaning ideas about it being possible to resolve present problems without touching upon the interests of powerful social groups. There was far more caution there with regard to defense expenditure and the hope that financial stabilization could be combined with wide-scale handouts of money, which are very difficult to implement in practice simply from the mathematical point of view.

So, I think that you could draw analogies both with the program of Abalkin, which in 1989 was the first in this endless succession of 12 programs which made their appearance and then disappeared without a trace over the past year and a half, and also with the subsequent Ryzhkov program, and with the shock-therapy version, the shock-therapy program, the second version of the Ryzhkov program, and so on. During these years, against the background of this succession of programs, the main thing for which the governments were criticized was the fact that they talked a lot but did not do anything. The difference I think lies first and foremost in the fact that we are doing something, and today we are being criticized for the fact that we do what preceding governments have failed to do.

[Shashkov] Talk is already common about you having excessive optimism. Do you think it is excessive?

[Gaydar] Rumors about my excessive optimism are, in my view, substantially exaggerated. Perhaps better than anyone else, I and my friends and colleagues understand how complicated the situation is, how unreliable the lightweight indications of financial improvement that have emerged are, how easily they can be demolished with a few sharp and imprecise movements, how serious the problems are that we still have to resolve in the sphere of production, and how inevitable a serious

structural crisis is in this economy. If we are to talk about us being optimistic, this is simply connected with the fact that we are not prepared to lapse into hysterics, we are not prepared to panic. We believe that this economy, like the economies of other countries, obeys natural laws. So far it is behaving in accordance with those laws. So far, it is reacting adequately. And so we believe that the situation is controllable, on the whole and for the time being.

[Shashkov] It seems to me that a comparison between your government and a surgeon is quite in order. You are making a surgical intervention. You have to do a difficult operation in a cavity, but meanwhile your movements have to be extremely well worked out and extremely precise. Would you agree with such a comparison?

[Gaydar] Yes, I agree with the comparison, and that is precisely why it is very dangerous to jog a surgeon's elbow, for example, when he is doing such an operation.

[Shashkov] In that case, we wish you a successful completion of the operation. Not only you, but also all of us! Thank you.

[Gaydar] Thank you.

## 'Fifth Wheel' Program Interviews Leaders

### Khasbulatov on Economy

*LD0103054292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2023 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Statement by Ruslan Khasbulatov, Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman, followed by questions from unidentified correspondent in St. Peterburg; including comment from Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg; from the "Fifth Wheel" program, subtitled "Making Man Independent"—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] In St. Petersburg, there is a big meeting today. I think I cannot remember another such occasion in the last few years when such a distinguished delegation has come here. It is headed by Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. We are in the mayor's office. He has not fully been moved from the Mariinsky Palace.

[Khasbulatov] Are they planning to move him out?

[Sobchak] They move him out regularly, so he has to go to the Smolnyy.

[Khasbulatov] I would not want members of the government to take the route of saying that everything's fine, that everything is going according to plan, that we know everything. That is a lightweight approach. I myself have fears for the prestige of our executive authorities, including the federal government.

Statements to the effect that everything is going according to plan are so frivolous that, you know, it merely puts the backs up of all who hear it, of course.

Regrettably things are very difficult in the investment sphere: machine-building, metallurgy, the oil and gas industry, the processing industry. This is the basis of the economy.

A process of destruction of elements of productive forces is under way. Economists will know what I mean. The production mechanism is being destroyed. It is not just a 7 or 15 percent drop in production, but a destruction of the production mechanism. This only happens in the vastest historical cataclysms, like civil war, or the Great Fatherland War, when, as you will know, the whole production mechanism had to be transported beyond the Urals from Ukraine, Belarus, and part of Europe. To the Urals and so on. That is what is meant by the destruction of elements of productive forces. And that is what is happening at the moment because of the simply unthinkable cuts in investments.

In the scramble for some sort of mythical deficit-free budget, which we are not going to get anyway, there have been gigantic spending cuts in investments, in the investment sphere, which provides vital services, and in the social sphere.

It was gloomy to hear what the female managers of rayon health departments in St. Petersburg had to say. It was hard to listen to it all. There is a shortage of cash for medicines. How can you have a deficit-free budget in these circumstances? So if it proves possible to halve the budget and reduce it to 150,000 million rubles, I assure you a monument could be put up to the government: if they manage at least more or less to halve it. That would be quite good. But, you know, you have to think of the future a bit, in the sense of expanding production. Just look. We have forgotten the phrase commodity production. We talk of small farmers, we talk of collective and state farms, and firms. But we have completely forgotten about expanded commodity production. We have completely forgotten about factories. You cannot do that.

Take the social infrastructure. All major plants have social infrastructures. Because of these colossal price increases, they are now of course trying to get rid of them. It is a very dangerous trend. Large enterprises, including defense enterprises, of course, and machine-building enterprises, are, if anything, trying to throw off this burden. Because this is already becoming more expensive than even their machinery, parts, and soon salaries even.

So what is to be done? Because from this develops the process of impoverishment; juvenile crime increases, as do rates of infant sickness. In short, the whole sphere of poverty and despair grows wider. And so, of course, some very serious steps are needed to correct these deviations. Our goal is to make man independent, and this means not only to provide him with food and drink but also to give him economic freedom. When we speak of freedom, we somehow lose sight of economic freedom for man, of a certain material independence from his environment, not only from his natural environment but

also from his social and political environment. A man provided for in that way is really free. He has his own opinions, he has a sense of his own worth.

No theoretical scientists, no major revolutionaries, nobody who turned the world upside down has ever come from a poor background. That has only ever produced a lumpenized sector of the population. We now have a dangerous state of affairs in the social sphere, with the process of lumpenization spreading. This is something which must not be allowed to happen, and so there has to be a serious ... [changes thought] Those taking part in the conference today were quite right to put the question of the need to look again at the issues connected with socal protection. But if you want to ask ...

[Correspondent, interrupting] A last question to you, then we will release you and continue our discussion. Ruslan Imranovich, are you not alarmed that the purely political tendency of late has been such that the nomenklatura—the, so to speak, leaders of the Communist, what shall we call them, nomenklatura apparatuses—have raised their heads, as we have seen at the Manezh Square rallies and in the pretty active and difficult situation at the Supreme Soviet?

[Khasbulatov] You could have mentioned other rallies too. In many of our towns and oblasts there are still the, so to speak, rudiments of the old, obsolete regime. That goes without saying. What has begun in parliament is a process of undermining it by those on the left, the extreme leftists among the deputies who actually have been cooperating very closely with the government. That is something which has been causing me great concern, and continues to do so—whether everything is in order in the government and in the president's administration. Of course, we have been discussing this very frankly, though for one man to run such a colossal apparatus is simply impossible, so there is no blame attached here, sympathy rather. Especially since he has such a lot to think about—the CIS, foreign policy, defense, and all the rest. Of course, each of us has to have trust.

And this was used by, so to speak, other forces as well, a certain part of some reactionary forces. You see with what difficulty a question seemingly not subject to any kind of doubt passed—the ratification of the settlement of the border zone, the border regime, with China. Well, is it really not understood that this is a question which in general needs to be decided in 30 seconds? They argue ...

[Correspondent, interrupting] Everything was already prepared, right?

[Khasbulatov] Moreover, thoroughly. Well, answer me. Moreover there were sham attempts to defend their own interests, and so on. And as regards the agenda, you see with what colossal pressure the agenda passed. The attempt to thrust on, to ratify the treaty on the CIS, moreover not ashamed of the attempt, let us create at first a Soviet Union, and then we will dismember it again. You know. Moreover, it is always the same people who say this.

[Correspondent] The same Baburin ...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] Right, and the others who always traditionally spoke in such events, the government seized them, made them its bureaucrats. Where is it winning, where is the strategy, where is the policy? This is what the weakening of parliament leads to. Okay. And if it was possible, say, to write into that standing order the point—to recognize, to examine the legality of presidential decrees, as they demand, to examine the legality of the ratification of the CIS, and much else the very formulation of which proposed putting in doubt everything being done, both in political reforms and in economic reforms.

[Correspondent] Even the very presence of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin recently at the meeting in Minsk would be instantly canceled?

[Khasbulatov] Of course, yes. This is what I said, the people who are planning attacks on parliament, they are not distant people, they do not understand this. This is the misfortune of what we are working on now, some people do not understand. Unfortunately, this is what real work takes place in.

## Shokhin Supports Reform

*LD0103061992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2103 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Interview with Aleksandr Nikolayevich Shokhin, Russian vice premier, with unidentified correspondent in St. Petersburg; from the "Fifth Wheel" program, subtitled "And Yet the Reforms Go On"—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, what is your attitude toward the fact that perhaps throughout the existence of the Soviet state—you have to consider these 74 years, particularly since each of us historically suffered great harm from the ideology of these 74 years, as, I think, is even clear now to its supporters—no Russian government has been so much the focus of attention nor subjected to so much criticism. How justified or not is it, in your view, if you could be self-critical about it, and what is your opinion of this business of parliament giving its views on the progress of reform?

[Shokhin] We indeed had to begin reform at a most inappropriate moment. And in starting these reforms, we cannot for objective reasons implement popular measures and try to persuade people that in a month or two's time there will be a drastic change in the situation, there will be an upturn in the economy, or living standards will begin to go up. That will take time. But we have one very important justification as to why we started this large-scale reform precisely at this juncture. We are simultaneously taking steps to improve the financial situation, to stabilize the budget, to bring about systemic changes in the economy—privatization, above all, and measures to liberalize all forms of economic activity. We really have and had no other way out.

If we were now to follow the classic textbook methods which are frequently mentioned these days, the economy would collapse very rapidly, and we would not be able to sustain the economy. You will no doubt recall the second Congress of People's Deputies two years ago, with the government of Abalkin and Ryzhkov proposing two or three years for stabilization and then a transition to the market. But even a month of that policy demonstrated that the economy is fully unmanageable, and it was impossible to stabilize it using the old methods. That was the reason for the emergence of the ideas of the 400-day and 500-day programs, and other new programs. But the time for normal entry into the market elapsed, and we are now simply forced to proceed in this manner.

We do, of course, have another option—the option of a prolonged crisis lasting about two years. But two years of such developments would bring about a complete political and economic collapse, I believe. It would mean entering a condition of hyperinflation, it would mean prolonged suffering for the population without any guarantee that the crisis would be overcome in one-and-a-half or two or even a year by democratic methods.

In this case the strong arm, Pinochet and the like, is inevitable. So, we still now have the possibility of escaping this crisis in the first place in a relatively short period of time and second, by using our democratic institutions and mechanisms, even though they are rather shaky and we would not like to pull them down right at the outset. As to whether the judgments are justified, whether the criticisms of the government are right or not, well I would not wish to liken our government to the Ryzhkov government, when Nikolay Ivanovich complained that the government was not being allowed to do its work and called on the press and deputies and public figures and so on to leave them in peace. I believe that the press and parliament have the right to criticize the activities of the government.

What is happening is that the social base for reform is being narrowed, objectively speaking. And what is needed is to broaden it, otherwise the reforms will not work. It can only be broadened by creating mechanisms for confidence in the reforms themselves—not confidence in a specific government or specific people in the government, but confidence ...

[Correspondent, interrupting] But why not confidence in ...

[Shokhin, interrupting] ... but above all confidence in the reform line, that this is the device for getting this cumbersome object moving. And the government should be criticized if it is inconsistent in its actions. My personal view is that a number of inconsistent actions have already been embarked on—for instance, the joint decision by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the government to reduce the value-added tax is not in my view one which was very well-judged. Why? Because if we were to target those 25,000-30,000 million rubles to special-purpose social protection for the most needy groups of the population, the social effect would be more lasting. With a political fund, it would be possible ...

[Correspondent, interrupting] And when ...

[Shokhin, interrupting] And if this part of the value-added tax were given to local soviets, so that local authorities could decide which old lady or which family in particular needs to be helped. But that has now been thrown away. And there have been other decisions which could be considered to have been not entirely consistent. So if we had been criticized on this count—this inconsistency—then that might have offered, so to speak, more promising political soil for the reforms. But to criticize us for the reforms themselves—for liberalization of prices, for privatization and the rest—is natural criticism, given that we are making the transition from a totalitarian socialist system to a market one.

## Sobchak Calls For Openness

*LD0103060292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2033 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Statement by Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg, including questions by unidentified correspondent in St. Petersburg; from the "Fifth Wheel" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Sobchak] I want to say that the time chosen to carry out reform was extremely unfortunate. That is, it is difficult to imagine a worse condition, a worse form, a worse situation from which to begin reform. But today, in order to change this situation and create more favorable opportunities for the success of reform, it seems to me in the first place necessary to objectively, honestly, without any self-deception, analyze the real processes occuring in life in order to introduce timely corrections to reform, so as to relate reform to the pace of real life, and extend the circle of people who participate in evaluating the results of reform and developing new tenets.

The situation which has formed today in which reform is worked out fairly secretly, by a fairly narrow circle of individuals, this is not a normal situation. Wide discussion is necessary, drawing in scholars and practical workers together and the government and parliament, so that there are no unexpected events here. Each time we find out about decisions already made, for us it is like thunder in a clear sky.

And finally, in conclusion I would talk about one thing which seems to me to be extremely important. Unfortunately, the government still does not have a clear foreign or internal policy, in my view. It is necessary to completely clearly realize that by not agreeing on certain questions, in the first place economic ones—currency and financial ones—with the other republics of the former Soviet Union, we are placing all reforms which we are carrying out in Russia, which we are implementing in Russia, under threat. That is, when implementing these reforms, we must know how it will

happen, let us say, what the situation is with finances and the ruble in other republics. For today, it is possible to cancel out even the more successful reforms than it is in reality because of the fact that other republics will begin to implement arbitrary decisions with regard to the ruble mass. And this is already happening. In the Baltic republics and in other republics. And they do not want to come to agreement.

Recently in Davos, I spoke with eight of our presidents, and I did not notice that they had the desire to agree on these issues. And most importantly I did not notice the desire to even agree honestly. Because everyone in secret is in one way or another preparing for one kind of financial reform or another, and in one way or another wants to define his position on these issues. But no one wants to sit down at the negotiating table and honestly talk with each other—yes, we intend, let us say, from the first of May to begin financial reform.

[Correspondent] For centuries mistrust of each other has been hammered in, and the influence of the center ...

[Sobchak, interrupting] At the moment, we are so linked and in one boat that we simply do not have the right to act in that way.

[Correspondent] That is how you think, they do not think like that.

[Sobchak] I do not think that this is exactly how it is. You understand there is one further point here. Let us say there exists intelligence, there exists other bodies, and we, say, know what is happening, and what preparations for financial reform are going on in, say, the Baltic states, or Ukraine or Moldova. That is, we also have the possibility of a preemptive blow, preemptive measures, but this would be economic war. This concerns me most of all. I am concerned by the fact that now in the background of proceeding economic reform an as-yet-hidden, but tomorrow open, economic war between the republics is beginning. And this is extremely dangerous.

## Russian Foreign Policy Fund Set Up

*LD2802234992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1909 GMT 20 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Igor Peskor and Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 20 February (TASS)—The main aim of Russia's Foreign Policy Fund, which has been set up, is to pool the efforts of diplomats and Russian enterpreneurs in the shaping of their country's foreign policy. The official ceremony of the signing of documents on the establishment of the fund took place at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry's mansion today.

Thirty-two leading commercial and financial organizations of the Russian Federation are the founders of the fund. Among them are the Russian commodity and raw materials exchange, the Kamaz joint-stock company, the Inkombank, the "Stolichnyy" Bank, the Menatep international financial association, the Sovintersport all-Russian foreign economic organization, and others.

Each one of them has contributed 5 million rubles to the fund. The Fund's Patrons' council, apart from the heads of the founder organizations, includes the economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Russia's ambassador to the United States Vladimir Lukin, academician Oleg Bogomolov, Mark Zakharov, chief director of the "Lenkom" theatre, and numerous prominent politicians, businessmen, and public figures.

"We regard the establishment of the Fund as the restoration of the tradition of close interaction between Russian politics and business", stated Andrey Kozyrev, Russia's Foreign Minister, speaking at the ceremony of the establishment of the Fund. Foreign policy, he said, was inseparable from domestic policies and must take account of the interests of all sytrata of the population, including those of enterpreneurs, facilitating the creation of favorable conditions for Russian business abroad.

The provision of financial assistance for foreign policy research, to organize international seminars and meetings and to render assistance in enhancing the level of humanitarian education of Russian children were named by the minister as among possible directions of the new organization's activities.

## Kozyrev Speaks at Opening

*PM2802123192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 92 p 3*

[Viktor Linnik report: "Calculated Marriage. Creation of Russian Foreign Policy Foundation"]

[Text] One evening last week on Aleksandr Tolstoy Street around 150 diplomats and Moscow businessmen met in Savva Morozov's former home, now used by the Russian Foreign Ministry as its Reception Center. The reason was the now-fashionable "launch" of the Russian Foreign Policy Foundation. The rapidly growing Russian business world is thus in direct contact with the Federation's foreign policy.

Opening the ceremony, Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev spoke of the formation of the foundation as yet another indication that Russia is joining the club of civilized states. In the past, the minister recalled, we would fire poison arrows at Western traditions, claiming that foreign policy over there merely reflected the interests of such major corporations as Shell or General Motors. There is nothing shameful in the fact that henceforth the interests of Russian entrepreneurs will be represented in our foreign policy, he summed up.

Needless to say, there is nothing reprehensible in the fact that our full-fledged producers should have the support of their foreign policy structures. All the more so as the West as a whole, quite obviously, is uninterested now (or

ever—V.K.) in creating competitors for itself from among Russian industrialists. The development of raw material sectors in our country and the encouragement of speculative capital is one thing that completely suits the West. The creation here of a powerful industrial and financial base is something that clearly would not delight them. Hopefully the Russian Foreign Ministry will support "our people" on this.

There is also a personal aspect to the union now emerging between the Foreign Ministry and business. I will not always be a minister, Kozyrev noted elegiacally, nor should businessmen always do nothing but make money. It is entirely possible, he argued, that some of them may in the future go into diplomacy. There is a "revolving door" tradition in civilized countries, whereby politicians and entrepreneurs replace each other in the state and then the private sector.

This is all true, only this sign of "civilization" is seen by the intelligentsia in the West as an obvious indicator of the corrupt nature of bourgeois democracy. U.S. presidents repay financial services during the election campaign with political and diplomatic appointments. Do we want to copy this kind of "civilization"?

The Russian Foreign Ministry, like most state structures, is now in desperate need of money. Where to find money if not from those who have it? Lobby discussions have admittedly been expressing doubts about whether some of the Foreign Ministry's new allies may turn out to be involved in shady deals. Such an eventuality could really ruin a generally useful undertaking.

K. Borovoy, chairman of the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange, who said just a few words at the ceremony, assessed the setting up of the foundation as a manifestation of glasnost. I remember the time, he said, when there was a "keep out" sign on Tolstoy Street. Now, it seems, times are changing.

...After the reception I walked down Tolstoy Street to the Sadovoye Beltway. The street entrance was blocked by a State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate Administration vehicle. It was waiting for the guests to leave...

### Further Kozyrev Comments

*LD2802235892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 21 Feb 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Answering a question on the attitude toward the Foreign Policy fund of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said:

[Begin Kozyrev recording] Our role is to encourage our business to take a civic stance and take part in the formation of foreign policy interests. We are not looking for profits of any kind and have no commercial interests. However, we do believe that we need to encourage our businesses and support them in their foreign policy actions. Their interests must be taken into account in our foreign policy just like the interests of any other influential groups in our society. [end recording]

### Shakhray on Withdrawal Talks, Autonomy

*LD2802204992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1855 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[Studio interview with Sergey Shakhray, state councillor and deputy prime minister, by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Vladimir Gavrilenko, unidentified LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent, TRUD correspondent Nikolay Dorofeyev, and FEDERATSIYA correspondent Andronov, moderated by Georgiy Dolgov and Nina Zvereva; from the "Without Retouching" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Dolgov] Hello there, I am Georgiy Dolgov and I am chairing "Without Retouching" today in the absence of the regular host. Our team has only changed by 50 percent, and, as usual, Nina Zvereva is here to help me. Our guest today is Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray, state councillor and deputy prime minister. [passage omitted]

[Zvereva] As announced earlier, it is now the turn of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's Vladimir Gavrilenko. Over to you.

[Gavrilenko] Sergey Mikhaylovich, you led our delegations at the negotiations with the Baltic countries about the withdrawal of our troops. Well, the negotiations had been in the cards for a long time. There was no way of avoiding them. That is all clear. There is nothing more to be said. But what about the timetable? It is simply staggering. I think it is not a withdrawal, but the retreat of a defeated army. You know, I have talked with officers and soldiers. Many simply say the circumstances are degrading to the dignity of the Russian soldier and officer.

[Shakhray] I could reply to your question with another question. I could ask you when the state delegation fixed as the final pull-out date.

[Gavrilenko] There is no final date. But it is to start in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia in February and March.

[Shakhray] I want to draw your attention to the fact that what was settled for the first time was not a political decision to collect everyone together and to get out or retreat, as you put it, by 1 April. A possible date for the start of the pull-out was settled for the first time. Furthermore, the date was set after it was considered by military experts. I stress: It is the start date. Nowhere is there a date by which the pull-out will end. The Russian delegation does not want to repeat the lamentable experience the Soviet Union had with Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Poland. We formulated a list of factors on which the speed of withdrawal, the timetable

of withdrawal and conditions of withdrawal depend, and you will have seen this in our documents. And that is that.

Now teams of experts are at work in Lithuania. On 3 March a team of experts is to start working with Latvia. We held talks on this yesterday. And it is the experts who are going to set everything out—the pluses and the minuses, what favors the speeding up of withdrawal and what is hindering the speeding up of withdrawal. It seems to me that this is the only right approach. Another key point in the talks was that the legal status of the troops that are being withdrawn was defined. They were classed as Russian troops, under the protection of Russian law: Russia was assuming these responsibilities, and at the same time guaranteeing that the Russian troops there would comply with legislation. This is a very well-considered approach. I could tell you a great deal of interesting things about these talks. There is no retreat here. There is no disrespect with regard to what is going to happen to these members of the military.

[Gavrilenko] Sergey Mikhaylovich, the talks as such took place. You raised objections, you argued. Could you tell us a bit about this, about the procedural side?.

[Shakhray] I raised objections. [pauses, laughs]

[Dolgov, to Gavrilenko] Does that satisfy you? You have got a minute left.

[Shakhray] I would like to note that there were practically no arguments about political aspects. The idea that these were occupation forces was unambiguously laid to rest. That would have implied we were in a state of war. Occupation forces can go where they want and when they want, and so on. So we got down to work straight away. I think this is a very positive thing.

[Gavrilenko] How do you explain that the start of the pull-out has been set for Lithuania and Latvia but not for Estonia?

[Shakhray] There is a simple reason. I have already explained it. You know there was a government crisis in Estonia, and when we arrived the Estonian state delegation had not been appointed. We had agreed on things between foreign ministries. For the first time Russia was acting as a plenipotentiary. All previous negotiations, including those conducted by the old Union bodies, always ended with a lack of authority. Good people, major politicians and experts, and so on, would come along, but it would turn out that no one was authorized to make any decisions. I would like to say that the Estonian side emerged from this situation—this absence of a plenipotentiary delegation—splendidly. They met the Russian delegation at the level of parliamentary speaker, prime minister, the chairman of parliamentary sessions, and the foreign minister. In other words, all the top players were there. And the results were effectively the same. The juridical formula, or the juridical format, was different. In this instance it was not a difference of principle.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent] Sergey Mikhaylovich, here is a difficult question: From the legal point of view, does Crimea belong to Russia or Ukraine?

[Shakhray] Well, I hope I will be able to answer this question although, perhaps, I cannot claim to be 100-percent impartial—I was born in Crimea and my ancestors are buried in Crimea. Nevertheless, I am not rending my clothes and shouting: Crimea should be returned to Russia! I believe that this path—to haggle over who owns Crimea—leads to an impasse. Let us say that Crimea is common property, not in the legal aspect—Russia is not taking it away from Ukraine—but let us say that Crimea is a free economic zone, a zone where Russia's and Ukraine's economic interests can be realized. Yes, Ukraine is sovereign; yes, Ukrainian laws are in force, but let us open Crimea up for both sides. An attempt to solve these problems by force, along the line of Nagorno-Karabakh and Yugoslavia, has no future. I simply do not want to elaborate on this subject. It seems to me that in this direction the agreement on the status of CIS Armed Forces on Crimean territory, as a document regulating the status of the Black Sea Fleet, is a way out of a dead end—of a seeming dead end.

[Dolgov] Sergey Mikhaylovich, undoubtedly your place should be in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs!

[Correspondent] It could be the next stage.

[Shakhray] I will ponder your proposal.

[Correspondent] The second question, with your permission: About a year ago, on the eve of the third congress of people's deputies, you feared a constitutional coup. Now, before the sixth congress, talk about some actions being prepared against Yeltsin, maybe even an attempted constitutional coup, can be heard. Could you tell us if there is anything behind this or is it pure paranoia?

[Shakhray] Well, you know, as long as a two-tier parliament exists, there is always a danger of such constitutional... [Shakhray changes thought] unpredictable consequences, if only hypothetically. It seems to me that there is such a danger, although the words coup and constitutional are incompatible. If power is handed over through amending the Constitution, that is not a coup but a legal transformation. There are grounds to believe that there will be an attack at the congress. In the most innocent form this will mean depriving the president of some powers. Incidentally, I would like to ask the journalists present here: Has the president been given a single chance to use these additional powers or has he been able to use them? But this is a separate subject. This is the simplest scenario. At the opposite end of the spectrum there could be an attempt at revenge by nomenklatura. There are such grounds, and we can talk about this subject in greater detail.

[Zvereva] Nikolay Dorofeyev of TRUD. FEDERATSIYA is next.

[Dorofeyev] Thank you. Sergey Mikhaylovich, this is what I would like to ask you: At present in various regions of Russia, particularly in the former autonomous republics that have now, so to say, become states and are adopting various legislative acts—and not even legislative acts but rather state acts of local significance which, in my view, have a quite serious effect on the statehood not only of individual republics but of the whole of the Russian Federation. At the same time, I do not recall—perhaps there is an exception in Chechnya and this, too, was uttered quite quietly—one, and I am not even speaking about the law but a legal assessment of the various acts that are being adopted in these former autonomous areas. [sentence as heard] What is behind this? Is it a policy or is there perhaps something preventing it? Please explain.

[Shakhray] Thank you. That is a very important and very complicated question. By the way, a legal assessment was given at the time when the decision was made to hold the Russian referendum, and a number of republics, which I can name, blocked the decision to hold the Russian referendum and then the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, on the basis of Article 114 of the Constitution, assessed these actions as unconstitutional. That is, from a purely legal point of view, albeit using a broad stroke—there have been examples of this.

Now let us try to answer the second part of the question. How should the central Russian authorities react to the emergence of laws and decisions that are contrary to the Russian Constitution and Russian laws? It seems there are two types of reaction. The first is to punish, bring down, and dissolve. The second is not to use this method but to use a different approach. I think that at present we have the second approach.

[Dorofeyev] That is, it turns out like [words indistinct] a conspiracy of silence. Look, on the 21 March there is to be a referendum in Tataria. The question has been put in such a slippery way that people who vote will hardly be able to understand what they are voting for. Perhaps it really is time to have one's say and explain what lies behind each specific case, say, behind this referendum; what lies in store for the inhabitants of Tataria in this situation and so on. Or do you think this process may continue, speaking in the well-known political language?

[Shakhray] I would reply to that question like this: Of course both the Russian Supreme Soviet and the president will respond to the referendum in Tatarstan on 21 March, and I think the first response will be that the leadership of the parliament of Tatarstan should give an unequivocal answer: Are they leaving Russia or not? Because there are millions of citizens of Tatar nationality, 5 million, in the Russian Federation outside Tatarstan. There are a million Russian speakers—Russian people—in Tatarstan. For them this is a question of life and death. Because after Tatarstan leaves Russia there may be an avalanche of evictions of Tatars from the Russian Federation, evictions of Russians from Tatarstan, and the creation of ethnically pure states. Such attempts have never been successful without using reservations. Therefore, there will without fail be a response.

I would like to point here that we must not repeat the Novo-Ogarevo process. The illusion that with the help of talks, concessions, and treaties one can resolve national and economic problems and problems of state structure should in this case be discarded. We should use only economic reform, only constitutional reform and, if you like, patience. In the 1920's we even had rural soviets that declared themselves to be republics. We must go through this stage. We must keep hammering away until we get common sense and regulate this situation with the aid, I say once again, of the ruble and the economy. We must give as many rights as possible to Tatarstan and the other republics that are part of Russia but not overstep the line in the sand: the preservation of the Russian state.

[Dorofeyev] In any event, I would like to clarify for myself that what you call patience is the factor causing the top leadership of Russia not to respond in any way, not to give a legal assessment of say, declarations of sovereignty being issued by republics [words indistinct].

[Shakhray] As far as the declarations of sovereignty are concerned, the Russian congress of people's deputies expressed respect for these documents. We regard this process as natural and even positive. This is, on the philosophical plane, a process of decentralization, a process of governing the state. This question must not be taken as far as the feudal fragmentation of the state. Therefore the Russian leadership believes in patience, because in ethnic relations attempts to use force or even the threat of force lead to the opposite results. This must not be allowed. At times it is provoked and here this boundary must be clearly observed. Of course, one cannot remain silent for ever but one must not engage in saber rattling.

[Zvereva] Thank you. Now for FEDERATSIYA. It is their debut on "Without Retouching." I will remind you that we are broadcasting live. Next will be ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and then our section of quick questions.

[Andronov] Andronov, FEDERATSIYA. Sergey Mikhaylovich, I would like to continue the topic of Russian statehood. You mentioned the patience of the Russian Government. But I sometimes get the impression that there is an unpredictability in this policy, particularly as far as the issue of our national-state system is concerned. In one case we see improvisations, as happened with Checheno-Ingushetia, where it almost got to the stage of armed conflict. In another case, we have silence at a time when events are proceeding. In other cases there are lengthy discussions that lead nowhere. Do you have some more or less specific, clear, and precise nationalities policy that is comprehensible both to ordinary people and to politicians?

[Shakhray] Talking in the broadest terms, I think there is not at the moment any precise or complete blueprint. There is no such program. This needs to be admitted honestly. There are certain principles on the basis of which this structure could be built. To my mind, these principles consist of the following: First, no one has ever managed to set up a state or federation along ethnic lines, and never will. In 1908-14, Kokoshkin [Fedor Fedorovich Kokoshkin, 1871-1918, lawyer, journalist and leader of the Cadet Party] produced his classic proof of this, but we do not read what our predecessors said. Second, priority must be given to the rights of specific individuals, and that includes in the area of ethnic relations. And naturally, there is the economy—that is the third principle. If you combine these three principles, you get the foundation on which a normal national-state system for the Russian Federation can and should emerge. [passage omitted]

### Minister Cited on Price Liberalization

*OW2802195692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A complete freeing of prices is not foreseen in 1992, the Labor Minister of Russia Aleksandr Shokhin said in an interview with "INTERFAX" Friday [28 February]. According to Shokin the Russian government plans to free prices gradually. "Any reduction in the list of goods with fixed prices will be accompanied by compensation to the most needy of the population," Shokin said.

He added that the main portion of funds for this purpose would come out of the national budget from receipts of taxes on price increases and profits.

### Official Outlines Priority Reform Issues

*LD0303093492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Text] Anatoliy Chubays, the chairman of the Russian state committee for the management of state property, said today in Moscow at a conference of democratic forces in support of economic reform organized by the Democratic Russia Movement that the first stage of the Russian Government's reform plan is going along quite successfully. One should not think the government is satisfied with the general state of the economy, Anatoliy Chubays said. Yet events have transpired just as predicted by Gaydar's team. The government has so far managed to prevent a fall into hyperinflation. The circulation of money has been stabilized. The exchange rate has risen notably in the last few weeks and now stands at 70 rubles to the dollar.

All this gives hope to believe that it will be possible to go over to the free convertability of the national currency by this summer. According to Anatoliy Chubays, if the government continues to carry out consistent economic reform, the IMF will soon grant Russia two 7-trillion-dollar credits. This will help stabilize the Russian economy and make reform irreversible.

According to Anatoliy Chubays, the government will have to tackle two main tasks in March. First, it will have to find money to financially support enterprises that in the near future will face a serious shortage of money. Industry will find itself in a complex situation since the managers of enterprises have only now come to understand the necessity of caring about cutting costs and finding markets.

The second priority is to move the process of privatization from a standstill. If this does not happen then reform may fail.

### 'Considerable' Military Property Privatizable

*PM0103180192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Feb 92 p 1*

[Major S. Knyazkov report: "Privatization Under Way. Will the Military Get Anything?"]

[Text] A sum total of 3,715 applications for privatization have already been made in Russia, correspondents for Soviet and foreign publications learned at a news conference given by A. Chubays, chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property. But what is the military to destatize? Has provision been made for its participation in privatization?

Answering these questions from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent, A. Chubays remarked that normative documents do not lay down any restrictions on questions of privatization for servicemen. We welcome their participation in this process, unless, of course, this prevents them from fulfilling their official duties. As for the privatization of military property, A. Chubays pointed out that the State Committee for the Management of State Property has now created a serious structure to examine these questions, and there are definite plans and projects. It is proposed to begin work jointly with the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command in the very near future, as a certain proportion and even, maybe, a considerable proportion of military-technical property could perfectly well be sold. But for this, A. Chubays emphasized, it is necessary to draw up special procedures and resolve questions of the participation of servicemen themselves in this. Such work is only now getting under way.

The matter would appear to be clear with regard to military property and installations, but many people now are concerned about whose hands other objects of privatization will end up in. Will the mafia not buy up everything where it stands?

Anyone who acquires real privileges in accordance with earlier adopted documents can become an owner, A. Chubays said. In none of the countries that have carried

out privatization have there been so many privileges for labor collectives as have been established in Russian legislation. This means that, first and foremost, members of labor collectives will become owners. Second, those who have money and who can spend it on specific property. Finally, virtually the entire adult population of the country will be drawn into privatization with the opening of personal privatization deposits, which is planned for no later than 1 October or even sooner. This means that it is to be supposed that some things will also come down to us, the military.

### Official Suggests Ruble Investment Rate

*LD2902233492 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzybulo]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Anatoliy Chubays, head of the Russian state committee for state property, denied reports that foreign investors are prohibited from buying property in Russia and are allowed to privatise only unprofitable enterprises and suspended construction projects.

He said foreign investors are "invited" to participate in privatisation of trade and everyday services "on the basis of an investment competition". They also have certain privileges in privatising some industries, Chubays said, admitting that "there are stricter terms for foreign investors in other types of activity".

He explained this by the existing exchange rate of the U.S. dollar to the rouble, which allows a foreign worker to buy a machine-building plant in Russia for its weekly wage after it is exchanged for roubles.

Chubays said the Russian authorities are "actively discussing a question of investment rate of the rouble" which could exchange a dollar for ten roubles.

The move will "resolve a number of problems, including administrative restrictions on foreign investments," Chubays said.

### Rally Urges Government Resignation, 'Russian' TV

*LD0103142892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Correspondent V. Lenskiy report; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today a number of our compatriots went to the Ostankino Television center troubled by the fact that, in their opinion, our television is not Russian enough.

[Lenskiy] The small square in front of the Ostankino Television center is becoming a real Hyde Park. Rallies are held here regularly. Today's was called: A Russian Television for the Russian People. It was organized by the Russian Party, the leaders of which think the Russian people today do not have a state, an army, or even their own television. This is how the chairman of the Russian Party [V. Korchagin] sees it.

[Begin Korchagin recording] Apart from the problems of the Russian people, there should be Russian dances and Russian national songs. [end recording]

[Lenskiy] Televison was not the only issue at today's rally. Those who spoke demanded the resignation of the government and the president. For his economic program the chairman of the Russian Party proposed that every Russian family should be given a million rubles. The 300 people assembled greeted this with stormy applause.

[Video shows Korchagin addressing rally from truck. A woman is shown holding a sign reading: "It is time for us to sound the alarm! Free Russian television from the occupiers!" Another sign reads: "The Russian State is the basis of a united and indivisible Russia! Other signs read: "Gaydar and company are robbing old women"; and "The government should resign! The mafia will not pass!"]

### Calls for More Rallies

*OW0203122592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1021 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sunday [1 March] saw a series of rallies held across the Russian Federation by patriotic and nationalist groups.

Some 300 people came to Moscow's Ostankino TV center carrying slogans "Russian state to Russians!", "TV and radio are enemies of Russian people!", "Down with Yakovlev-Popoll [as received] clique! etc. Speakers at the rally, which was organized by the Russian party, called for holding more protest action, near the Gorky Park, outside the White House and in Manezlinaya Square on March 15 and 17.

In St. Petersburg, nearly 600 people came, in response to a call from the same party, to Palace Square to rally "in defense of the social and ethnic rights of the Russian people." The Russian Liberation Movement held its own rally there later, calling for the establishment of a Republic of Rus [as received] and urging the current government to resign. In Orenburg, the Russian party condemned the freeing of prices and demanded a channel on local TV.

### Economic Policy Memorandum Outlined

*PM2802190092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Feb 92 Morning Edition pp 1, 2*

[Unattributed "brief account" of main theses of draft "Russian Government Memorandum on Economic Policy"]

[Text] At the Russian Government session held 27 February under the chairmanship of Boris Yeltsin, a program for economic reform and economic policy for 1992 was approved. As Aleksey Ul'ukayev, economic adviser to the Russian Government, announced at a briefing, the measures set forth in the program are aimed at overcoming inflation and the decline in production and creating normal conditions for the integration of Russia's economy into the world economy.

It was also announced that in the next few days the program will be sent to the IMF, where it will be examined by the board of directors. Government circles express the hope that the document "will make a good impression on the international economic community" and that Russia will become a full member of the IMF and the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] in the shortest possible time.

The editorial office has in its possession the draft Russian Government "Memorandum," and offers for the attention of readers a brief account of its main theses.

By the beginning of the decade, the memorandum notes, the economy had reached a state of acute crisis. The switch to the democratic form of government in 1991 created the preconditions for eliminating the fundamental causes of negative phenomena. As a result of the price liberalization carried out 2 January 1992, approximately 90 percent of consumer prices and 80 percent of prices of output for industrial purposes are now free from direct administrative regulation. A presidential decree on free trade has been issued. The implementation of the privatization program has begun.

The document notes that the aims of the government program for the period until the end of 1992 are a drastic reduction in the rate of inflation and the greatest possible efforts to counteract the fall in production. Furthermore it is proposed to achieve a radical improvement in the foreign economic situation. By the end of March 1992 it is planned to lift all remaining administrative restrictions on prices of consumer goods and services (with the exception of apartment rents, municipal services, and public transport). As a result only some 5 percent of the population's monetary income will go on payment for goods and services at regulated prices.

It is deemed important immediately to carry out the liberalization of prices for energy sources. As a result of the revision of export duties in accordance with the previously announced timetable, prices for energy sources will reach the level of world market prices by the end of 1993.

As a result of the further liberalization of prices it is expected that in April the overall level of prices will rise by an additional 50-75 percent. However, given consistent implementation of a firm financial policy and incomes policy, the average monthly level of inflation should then fall rapidly to 1-3 percent in the last quarter of 1992. In that event, in the last nine months of 1992 the overall level of inflation will be 100-140 percent, as against 145 percent in 1991 and approximately 350 percent in the first quarter of 1992.

The government proposes to protect the most vulnerable population groups during the transitional period. The subsidies to consumers that are to be retained should be distributed in future—taking account as accurately as possible of income levels—in the form of cash payments, in order to compensate citizens in receipt of social allowances (pensions and family allowances) for the price rises. The government intends to introduce as soon as possible a system of family allowances which will be targeted as far as possible toward population groups on low incomes.

The present unemployment allowance, based on the previous average wage, will be replaced by two alternative types of allowance—ordinary and enhanced. The enhanced allowance, payable to those unemployed people who are dismissed as a result of the closure or major reorganization of their enterprises, will consist of not more than 90 percent of the previous average wage. The ordinary allowance will not exceed 75 percent of the minimum wage.

The government intends to proceed rapidly toward the objective of achieving a balanced budget. In view of the fact that a large budget deficit is expected in the first quarter of 1992, major additional measures must be adopted. Significant reductions in expenditure have already taken place in a number of spheres, in particular defense. They will continue throughout the year. There will be a further reduction in the total volume of subsidies. Policy in the sphere of prices will make the greatest contribution in this respect. Direct subsidies to enterprises will be reduced. The number of state employees in the central apparatus will be reduced by 5 percent by the middle of 1992, and by a further 10 percent by the end of 1992. Additional measures will be adopted to increase the income side of the budget, with a view to eliminating the budget deficit by the last quarter of 1992.

From 1 April 1992 the government will pay a more realistic interest rate on its internal debt, and this will, among other things, enable the Savings Bank to pay a higher interest rate to small investors. After a time, interest rates will become the main indicator regulating the investment of financial resources in the economy.

From the outset the government has remained committed to the policy of wage liberalization. Nonetheless, in view of the rapid increase in wages in the material sphere in late 1991 and early 1992, which entails the risk of increasing inflation and could lead to additional unemployment, the government is prepared if necessary to introduce measures to prevent the excessive growth of wages. In that event the government will bring in a progressive tax on above-norm increases in wages paid by state enterprises.

The memorandum reports the intention to introduce as soon as possible a single exchange rate system with a fixed ruble rate. This will in time make it possible to

increase the effectiveness of foreign trade and ensure Russia's integration into the world economy. One of the main conditions of the success of this policy is the attainment of macroeconomic stabilization. Furthermore it is necessary to accumulate adequate currency reserves, which at present are exhausted. For this, and also in order to provide general support to the economic program, foreign financing is needed.

As the main step on the path to a single exchange rate system, the government intends by 20 April 1992 to switch from the existing system with several exchange rates to a system of two exchange rates, with a single floating exchange rate applicable to all day-to-day operations, including the transfer of interest and dividends, and a separate permanent exchange rate for the movement of capital. This rate, which, on its introduction, will be higher than the floating rate, will be abolished simultaneously with the introduction of a fixed exchange rate, thereby introducing a single exchange rate system. Absolutely free access to foreign currency will be ensured for importers of goods and services, and also for foreign investors for the transfer of dividends and profits. Restrictions will be lifted on the exchange rate which banks are permitted to use in carrying out operations on their clients' instructions. As soon as this becomes possible, nonresidents will be permitted to buy and sell foreign currency on the interbank market for the implementation of day-to-day operations.

All export quotas and export licenses will be abolished by 1 July 1992, with the exception of quotas for exports of energy sources, which will be lifted by stages by the end of 1993, and goods whose exportation is restricted due to security considerations. Export quotas for energy sources will be set taking into account the expected reduction in internal consumption of these resources. There will be no return to quantitative restrictions on imports.

The memorandum reaffirms the need to preserve close economic relations between Russia and other former republics of the USSR. The Russian Federation Government intends to take all possible steps to preserve the common economic area, and also to refrain from steps that could damage trade. It seeks to eliminate interstate trade barriers, promote direct trade between enterprises, and restrict direct participation by the state in trade ties. No steps will be taken that would counteract market pressures leading to the establishment of identical prices for identical goods in different states. Quantitative restrictions on deliveries to other former republics will be introduced only for those goods that are subject to export duties in trade between the Russian Federation and third countries. Every effort will be made to ensure the observance of existing bilateral trade agreements on such goods.

The Central Bank of Russia is to reach agreement with the central banks of the other former republics on precise rules for payments and settlements, including the management of agents' accounts [korrespondentskikh schetov] at the Central Bank of Russia and the raising of limits on technical crediting on such accounts. The Central Bank of Russia will seek to coordinate monetary policy with the other central banks within the framework of the ruble zone, including the setting of similar indicators for credit emission, unified rates for the refinancing of central banks, and unified reserve requirements. The Central Bank of Russia is prepared to reach agreement with members of the ruble zone on the uniform distribution of money emission. It will also reach agreement on the implementation of a common ruble exchange rate policy and the mechanism for the integration of the former republics' currency markets. In the event that the former republics decide to introduce coupons or an alternative currency, the Central Bank of Russia will reach agreement on regulating the withdrawal of rubles to ensure that the planned inflation indicators envisaged beforehand remain compatible with the Central Bank of Russia's own credit program.

The government intends to devote particular attention to the development of more competitive markets. This presupposes a package of measures: the elimination of obstacles to the creation of new enterprises; the creation of a system of regulation, without restrictive requirements, of the licensing of production and trade; and the rapid detection and monitoring of abuses of monopoly positions. With the exception of natural [yestestvennykh] monopolies, the regulation beforehand of prices set by enterprises which have a monopoly on particular markets will be ended from 1 July 1992, and upper limits on profitability will also be removed. Instead, the government will concentrate on a positive program of promoting competition combined with reacting to serious abuses of monopoly positions that are detected. The 25-percent limit on trade markups currently in force for state trade enterprises, which is not applicable either to the private sector or to commercialized state stores, will be temporarily preserved in order to prevent monopoly abuses and to create an incentive to commercialization.

In the course of the privatization of state enterprises, the emphasis will initially be placed on the speedy sale at auctions—both open and competitive—of small enterprises and stores. The privatization of large industrial enterprises will undoubtedly proceed more slowly than that of small enterprises and organizations in trade and the service sphere. The commercialization of all enterprises with 200 or more employees will be carried out as quickly as possible; this will oblige them to submit to market discipline and make it possible to strengthen corporate management for the time being until their subsequent fate is decided. A detailed draft will be drawn up of a mass privatization program which could be implemented by the beginning of 1993. This program will be founded on the following basic principles: Free privatization coupons will be distributed widely with a view to creating wide support for the privatization program; workers will be granted a share in the ownership of their enterprise, but not a controlling share; restrictions on the privatization of individual enterprises and sectors will be reduced drastically; restrictions on

the participation of foreign investors will basically be abolished; privatized property will include the plot of land on which the property is located; uncompleted construction projects will be subject to a special tax to create an incentive for their completion or sale.

In order to reduce the scale of direct state intervention in the economy, binding state orders will be abolished. The remaining privileges to enterprises supplying output to the state will be considerably reduced during 1992. All other elements of centralized distribution of material resources will be abolished by the end of 1992.

The memorandum notes in conclusion that the economic program was formulated in an atmosphere of great uncertainty. If circumstances so require, the government will strengthen the policy of reforms. There is also uncertainty regarding the receipt of foreign financial aid to support the economic program. The main parameters of this program will be subject to revision depending on the level of foreign finance.

### Further on 'Russia in the New World Conference'

*MK2802110092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Feb 92 p 1*

[Yuriy Leonov report: "Chronicle: New World and New Russia"]

[Text] A two-day scientific-practical conference entitled "Transformed Russia in the New World" devoted to the new concept for Russian foreign policy was held starting 26 February in Moscow's Institute of International Relations. Admittedly there is still no concept as such, therefore the conference's task was to pool the efforts of specialists from various spheres—diplomats, scientists, parliamentarians, and even journalists—so as to formulate this concept.

Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian parliament, who addressed the conference, criticized the Foreign Ministry less than usual, but did not refrain from a caustic attack on the state secretary (of course there was no reference to personalities), who, according to Khasbulatov, has on seven occasions described as historic his visit to a country that our officials visit quite freely. Vladimir Lukin, recently appointed ambassador to the United States, said that the Foreign Ministry must get accustomed to having the presidential apparatus quite rightly assume more and more functions in conducting foreign policy (does this mean that Ambassador Lukin intends to deal directly with the president?). Foreign intelligence chief Yevgeniy Primakov, who nevertheless asked that he be considered more as an academician, stressed that the lack of confrontation in relations with the outside world does not cancel out the existence of Russian national interests, which must naturally be defended (not last, was what was implied, and with the intelligence service's aid).

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev spoke at the opening of the conference, and this was how he outlined Russian interests in the CIS: "These interests are a single army, a connected [sopryazhennyy] economy, a unique cultural area, and a common Russian language." Vice President Rutskoy, who was expected, did not come to the conference. The text of a greeting that Rutskoy was to have read out was circulated among the conference participants. Greeting the conference participants, Boris Yeltsin noted that "Russia's revival also means a transformed foreign policy. It preserves continuity in everything that has been done to overcome confrontation. But it is qualitatively new, because the Cold War has receded into history with the victory of democracy in Russia." The president expressed confidence "that the conference's work will help shape broad consensus among politicians, scientists, and practical personnel on ways to safeguard Russia's interests in the new world. It is not schemes and propaganda effect, but the practical good of the cause that characterizes our foreign policy."

After the plenary session the conference participants continued their work in sections, one of whose cochairmen was NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's chief editor. The sections had a concrete and interesting discussion, which is not surprising: Real experienced professionals who know their subject were speaking. It is a shame that there were rather fewer representatives of the Russian leadership here: It never does any harm to listen to professionals.

### Consolidation of Conservative Forces Seen

*PM2802164492 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Feb 92 First Edition p 1*

[Inna Muravyeva commentary: "Unclear Features of Faces Have Suddenly Become Clear"]

[Text] Sergey Stankevich, the president's adviser, has called Boris Yeltsin's 26 February meeting with leaders of parliamentary factions a "round of parliamentary diplomacy."

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is a multicolored phenomenon. Only recently it was rated "one of the chief wonders of perestroyka." By studying attentively and meticulously the policy statements of the rapidly emerging factions, many people have learned to distinguish their faces, because they have understood that parliamentary discord is a generally progressive phenomenon attesting to our advance along the path of democratic transformations.

Although, to be fair, it has to be said that many factions did not yet have their own face in the spring and summer of 1991.

The collapse of the communist idea and the defeat of the inspirers of the August putsch changed a great deal. One of the largest factions began to break up—"Communists of Russia," which had kept more than one Supreme Soviet session under its strong voting pressure (both from the number of "votes" belonging to the faction and from the quality of education: The decades of "unity"

and of answering the question in the words of Ilf and Petrov's hero—"Your political credo? Always!"—had yielded fruit).

The first to break away from the "Communists of Russia" were the "Fatherland" and "Industrial Union" factions. However, they did not announce their presence loudly for quite some time. General Boris Tarasov, leader of the "Fatherland" faction, is a well-known individual. He could frequently be seen and heard on the television screen during relays of the work of the congresses. But the general always spoke in his own name—as a people's deputy and as a general. Boris Vasilyevich probably designated himself loudly and confidently as the leader of the "Fatherland" faction for the first time during the preparations for the 23 February celebrations. It is said that he was not present at the meeting with the president and neither was Sergey Baburin, but Yuriy Gekht, the leader of another faction—the "Industrial Union"—made it perfectly clear on whom the president must rely in his reforms: on prominent economic planners and leaders of the military-industrial complex.

What about the "Communists of Russia" faction, which gave life to both "Fatherland" and the "Industrial Union"?

February 26 was a difficult day for Ivan Rybkin, the leader of this faction. He not only took an active part in the discussion with the president but also attended a news conference of the Socialist Party of the Working People, which has proclaimed itself the CPSU's legal heir. At the meeting with the president Ivan Rybkin said that the present reforms come into conflict with the working person and that the government should have provided anticipatory compensation for the poorly-off strata. At the same time, however, he emphasized that his faction supports the nationally elected president.

The events of 23 February in Moscow were spoken of at the news conference. Communist Rybkin and Constitutional Democrat Astafyev, Christian Democrat Aksyuchits and the well-known patriot Baburin signed a statement urging the creation of a deputies' commission to investigate what happened. In general, curious changes are happening to many factions in the Russian parliament. Who could have imagined only recently that the anticommunist banners of the leaders of the "Russian Union" faction—the Constitutional Democrat Mikhail Astafyev and the Christian Democrat Viktor Aksyuchits—would by February 1992 be standing in such immediate proximity to the red banners of orthodox Bolsheviks? Back in January, during the congress of patriotic forces, they had done all they could to disown the communist Viktor Anpilov, who had brought "hunger lines with empty saucepans" to the square; the "Liberal" Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, presidential candidate; and Dmitriy Vasilyev, the "patriots' patriarch." Sergey Baburin and Nikolay Pavlov, the leaders of the "Rossiya" faction, had also disowned them. But in February Anpilov and Baburin were already on the same barricades—as fighters for the interests of the starving people, who have "been reduced to such a state by the Russian Government"; and as the chief, implacable opponents of those "who are ruining the state."

The president is having a hard time. S is the government, which has ventured to take unpopular measures. But things are particularly hard for our long-suffering people. The idea of national accord may now be more important than ever. It is evidently no coincidence that the president has undertaken a "round of parliamentary diplomacy" in the search for this accord. He emphasized that more similar meetings will be held before April—on problems of the Constitution and the Commonwealth and by way of preparing for the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies.

In all probability it will not be an easy congress. This is what Russian Federation People's Deputy Stanislav Shustov said: "I am sure that conservative forces will endeavor to give battle at the congress, and I think that plans for a constitutional coup are even being cherished. You will see how assiduously and gradually 'popular discontent' is being prepared. For it is not for nothing that workers are being forcibly sent on indefinite leave at industrial enterprises where the storehouses are crammed full of output... All this is also in preparation for the congress, for that very spring which will 'verify everything'."

Yes, the consolidation of conservative national-patriotic forces is in evidence. Vladimir Lysenko warned of this once again, emphasizing that this is particularly dangerous against the background of "Democratic Russia's" crisis.

...We know that the Germans did a lot of painstaking work over 15 years to achieve their "German miracle," and the Japanese spent 20 years extricating their country from a most severe crisis.

Our "patriots" are impatient in planning a new demonstration for 17 March—this time to mark the first anniversary of the referendum.

And yet this very people on whose revolt they are counting in order to accede to power and return us to the bright kingdom of "justice" is no longer what it was only recently. People are beginning to develop a taste for "working for themselves." When I see two elderly women outside the "Izmaylovskiy Park" subway station selling caps and scarves which they have lovingly and tastefully knitted with their own hands, and even scarce house slippers, I think: The people will definitely survive, and the reforms will definitely happen. Because we have not lost the most important thing—a love of creative work. This is what we will count on.

## Supreme Soviet

### Presidium Discusses Draft Law on State Debt

*LD0203111892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar (TASS)—The examination of the draft law "On the Internal State Debt of the Russian Federation" was on the agenda of today's session of the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet.

The document provides for the division of the state debt of previous years between the former union republics and then between the members of the Russian Federation and determines the procedure for managing and servicing the state debt. With a view to this, a fund for servicing the state debt, the size of which will be approved by the Supreme Soviet, should be set up as part of the Russian budget.

In accordance with the draft law, any government debt liabilities should be repaid no later than in 30 years' time. The Ministry of Finance is obliged to publish annual information on the condition of the internal state debt setting out information on individual government bodies of national-state and adminstrative-territorial formations.

A decision of the Presidium provides for introducing within two weeks the draft of this law for examination by the Russian Supreme Soviet.

### Presidium Rejects Latvian Territorial Claim

*LD0203114192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1045 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar (TASS)—The Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet examined at today's session the question of the adoption on 22 January 1992 by the Latvian Supreme Soviet of the decision "On the nonrecognition of the annexation of the town of Abrene and of six volosts [smallest administrative division in tsarist Russia] of the Abrene uyezd [rayon]." The Presidium approved the draft statement on this problem, which will be presented to the Russian Supreme Soviet for examination.

The draft regards the claims by Latvia on Russia to be absolutely unfounded, both from the historical and legal points of view. Politically, they represent an attempt to exacerbate relations between the two states and to undermine the principle of the inviolability of existing borders, the document says.

### Deputy Urges Conclusion of Federation Treaty

*LD2802142692 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alexey Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—"If the (Russian) Federation treaty is not agreed upon and signed before the Congress of Russian People's Deputies in April the situation will run out of control", Ramazan Abdulatipov, speaker of the Nationalities chamber of the Russian parliament, told reporters on Friday [28 February]. The variant, which envisages that every subject of the Federation signs its own treaty with the centre, can lead to a full loss of control over the country, he added.

The most important task of today is to normalise relations inside the Federation. The treaty should promote the functioning of local bodies of power and management, divide the powers between the subjects of the Federation rather than solve national issues, according to Abdulatipov.

Regions and territories of Russia should be granted the right to sign the treaty along with the former autonomous republics. However, the signing should not go at a time, the speaker said. Although the autonomous republics, regions and territories must enjoy equal rights as subjects of the Federation, their status will differ, he added.

Abdulatipov is confident the draft Federation treaty can be agreed upon by all parties before March 20 and be signed before the beginning of the Congress of People's Deputies. The treaty will then be included into the new Russian constitution, he added.

### Committee Views Parliamentarians' U.S. Visit

*LD2902123392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2129 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Washington, 29 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Aleksey Tsarev, chairman of the Armed Forces subcommittee of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and Security, has described the results of the visit to the U.S. capital by a delegation of Russian parliamentarians as extremely useful for broadening interparliamentary exchanges between the legislative bodies of the United States and the Russian Federation. The members of the delegation took part in a scientific conference organized by the research organizations Global Outlook and Defense Budget Project devoted to conversion of the armed forces and industry and scientific research in the U.S. and Russia. They met with a number of legislators from the armed forces committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress.

As Tsarev pointed out in a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, a wide range of questions on nuclear armaments and research and problems of interaction between military and civilian authorities in the defense sphere was discussed during the course of the meetings with senators and other American legislators. The U.S. side showed immense interest in everything happening in our country. The Russian parliamentarians found the meetings with the U.S. legislators to be very useful, particularly in relation to the U.S. Congress' work in the sphere of defense and security. We plan to continue contacts and cooperation between the parliamentarians of the two countries, including those in the

sphere of improving our legislation, since the U.S. side has almost 200 years of experience in this field, whereas for us handing over the power to examine defense issues was achieved only in December of last year following the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. That is why we have to start our legislative base in this field almost from scratch.

It is worth pointing out, the chairman of the armed forces subcommittee of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and Security reported, that the U.S. legislators showed considerable interest in setting up a Russian Defense Ministry. In this connection it was explained that, apart from the Russian president's opinion on this problem, Russian parliamentarians have their own point of view according to which such a ministry should be created in the very near future. According to the opinion of the Russian legislators, Tsarev stressed, there is no need to wait while all the former Soviet republics create their own armies. In this respect an almost unanimous opinion prevails in the Russian Supreme Soviet defense and security committee. We intend to uphold this point of view. I hope that a settlement to the question of creating a Russian Defense Ministry will be achieved in the next month by way of a corresponding act of legislation of the Russian parliament or a decree by the country's president.

### High Economic Council Proceedings Viewed

*OW2702002392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The results of the first two months of market conditions show that the methods of solving economic crises used in the West can not be applied to Russia without serious modification, the Chairman of the High Economic Council of the Russian Supreme Soviet Vladimir Ispravnikov told journalist Wednesday [25 February]. The reason for this, he feels, is the difference in the factors causing the crisis. In the West—overproduction, in Russia—acute production shortage.

Ispravnikov reported on the extended session of the High Economic Council attended by Speaker of the Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov and his deputy Vladimir Shumeyko.

Shumeyko told journalists that in the period preceding the VI Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation constructive proposals on the modification of the course and increasing the effectiveness of economic reforms will be developed. The High Economic Council will conduct a thorough analysis of the economic situation in several regions of the Russian Federation.

### 'Specialists' To Analyze Reforms

*LD2702224192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[Text] Specialists could well be sent to a number of Russian regions in the near future by the Supreme Economic Council of the Presidium of the Russian parliament, to analyze how economic legislation is being put into practice. This was announced to journalists on 26 February by deputy parliamentary chairman Vladimir Shumeyko after an expanded meeting of the council with Ruslan Khasbulatov and other parliamentary leaders. Council Chairman Vladimir Ispravnikov said that an analysis of the reforms' first phase already points to the possibility of amendments being introduced. This applies primarily to the tax system.

### Discusses Tax Laws

*LD2902172292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[Report by correspondent Ye. Revelskaya, including recorded interview with V. Shumeyko, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] At today's session of the Supreme Economic Council specific proposals for the sixth Congress of People's Deputies on overcoming the crisis phenomena in the economy were discussed. The question of amendments to the existing tax laws gave rise to particularly stormy emotions. [passage omitted on brief details of taxes discussed]

[Shumeyko] It has turned out that real life and what is down on paper are two very different things. As they say in Odessa, there are two great differences. Because value added tax is calculated not from the final increase but from the absolute surplus value. And when they did their calculations on this today in detail they said that it was not 28 percent, but about 40 percent. [passage omitted]

## Regional Affairs

### Khasbulatov Begins 2-Day Visit to Chuvash

*LD2802082292 Moscow TASS in English 0802 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentina Ivanova]

[Text] Cheboksary, February 28 TASS—Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov arrives for a two-day visit to the Chuvash Republic today to take a look at reforms implemented there.

The Chuvash Republic and Russia are now discussing signing an economic agreement and the territory's budget. Commenting on the results of the first round of talks, Chuvash parliament Chairman Eduard Kubarev said: "As regards the economy, we will not abandon our

rights. Politically, however, our position is unanimous: We should be together with Russia".

### Meets With People's Deputies

*LD2902231492 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentina Ivanova]

[Text] Cheboksary February 29 TASS—"On the whole, the situation in Chuvashia is more calm than in many other regions," chairman of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov pointed out today, summing up the results of his two-day working tour of that republic. He was speaking at a meeting with people's deputies and representatives of the public.

Khasbulatov supported the desire, expressed at the meeting, to consolidate disrupted economic ties with other regions and stressed the importance of the idea of all-Russian accord and the unification of all forces for the sake of a successful implementation of the reform.

Responding to questions of people's deputies about the role of soviets (councils) in the current situation, Khasbulatov said: "No matter whether the soviets are good or bad. What matters is that they are the representatives authorities in provinces, the only ones we have. To struggle against the soviets means to work for some new form of a totalitarian regime. Soviets are the only form of people's power in this country."

Ruslan Khasbulatov returned to Moscow tonight.

### Cited on Federal Treaty

*LD2902233792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Tatyana Komarova] We are at the moment, unfortunately, more occupied with politics. The regrouping of political forces that is going on prior to the opening of the Russian congress of people's deputies shows that Boris Yeltsin may have to clash at the congress with a new, larger, more organized position. Clearly it was this that brought about his proposal at the meeting with the heads of parliamentary factions to conclude a social truce in order to stabilize the situation in the republic. It would appear that the visit to Cheboksary by Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov will be devoted to these same objectives.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Ye. Nikonov] Political and national conflicts do not worry Chuvashia. On the surface a normal working and measured life goes on.

A week ago, in the same businesslike way, Chuvashia was among the first of the republics among the Russian Federation to begin, at the level of official delegations, talks with the Russian leadership. An agreement was reached to the effect that it would not be Moscow that supplements the republican budget but, on the contrary, Chuvashia that would take part in financing the powers delegated to the center. Equal rights and partnership—this is the essence of the federal treaty now under discussion.

[Khasbulatov] A federal treaty has been discussed for over a year now, so it has acquired its own autonomous logic of discussion, irrespective of our trips and other events. Of course—since you brought it up—I would like, and I hope we will, to get these relations right before the congress. However, I am counting on our being able to sign an agreement so we can reassure the republics, oblasts, and krays of their mutual relations with federal authorities.

[Nikonov] But it is not only a settlement to political questions that is expected of the Russian leadership today. At one of the Volga's biggest textile combines, strange as it may seem in the present situation, there has been a growth in production. They are saying that now that prices have been freed it is necessary to increase the pace of reform. Otherwise, monopolism in industry will stifle manufacturers.

In the second half of the day Khasbulatov is to visit an instrument-building works where conversion has raised acute questions, and he will acquaint himself with other enterprises and organizations in the town. [end recording]

### St. Petersburg Mayor Ends Emergency Committee

*MK0203050192 St. Petersburg Teleradiokompaniya Peterburg Television Network in Russian 1720 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[From the "Telestantsiya Fakt" newscast]

[Text] By a decision of the mayor of St. Petersburg, the Committee for Averting Emergency Situations was eliminated as of 25 February. Coordination of activities in case something does arise has been entrusted to deputy mayor Georgiy Stepanovich Khizh [last name as heard].

### Sobchak Orders Free Trade, Customs Zones

*LD0203021792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Text] Anatoliy Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg, has ordered the establishment of free trade and customs zones within the city limits. TASS reports that, in the past, during the drafting of documents on free-enterprise zones, such places as Pulkovo airport, the sea port, and others were mentioned.

Within such subzones, favorable customs duties and taxes will be in effect, export quotas and licences will be retained.

### Moscow Deputy Mayor on Housing for Servicemen

*LD2902001492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 gmt 20 Feb 92*

[Interview with Moscow Deputy Mayor Yu. M. Luzhkov by correspondent V. Bakarinov; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Luzhkov] The city is building and is allocating 300,000 square meters of housing for the officer corps in the city. These are unprecedented amounts.

[Bakarinov] I remember your intention was to build bungalows but the matter immediately came up against the lack of available land. Perhaps the army will help you to resolve that problem?

[Luzhkov] I think it certainly will help. A decree has been signed by the president allocating 40,000 hectares in the Moscow Oblast for bungalow construction for the residents of Moscow and Moscow Oblast. Approximately two thirds is allocated for Muscovites and one third for residents of the Moscow Oblasts. This area in Moscow Oblast is today occupied by military units.

I think if we work properly under such an agreement in two or three years we will resolve the main housing problems of the Moscow officers and work together on ensuring that other important social questions are solved at a different level.

### Further on Upcoming Tatar Referendum

#### President Shaymiyev Cited

*LD2902195292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Video report by correspondent A. Nikolayev; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Tatarstan is in the run up to its referendum. The forthcoming plebiscite was the subject of a news conference by the Tatarstan president. As is known, the referendum question—Do you agree that the Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state and a subject of international law building its relations with Russia and other republics and states on the basis of equal treaties?—is causing many complaints. Democrats believe that it is a veiled form of Tatarstan's secession from Russia.

President Shaymiyev does not think so. He prefers to talk of raising and defining the republic's status given that Russia has not to date recognized Tatarstan's declaration of sovereignty. In the meantime, other republican leaders are more specific in their statements. According to Rafail Khasimov, an adviser to President Shaymiyev, Tatarstan has broken away from Russia de facto. This remains to be confirmed de jure.

#### Democratic Party Opposes Referendum

*OW2802210892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tatar branch of the Russian Democratic Party has urged republican residents "to vote 'no' to the authorities' separatist policy" at the March 21 referendum on Tatarstan's status. The adopted statement says an ambiguous question has been offered for the popular vote, in essence, aimed at proclaiming Tatarstan's state independence and secession from the Russian Federation.

### Chechen Parties Protest Unlawfully Armed Units

*OW0103151292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Round Table association in Chechnya, which unites the Vaynakh Democratic party, the Chechen National Congress, the Ethnic Council, the Independent Women's Union, the Union of Teachers, the Human Rights Committee and other public and political organizations, has urged the republic's parliament and President Dzhakhar Dudayev to take steps to disarm the unlawfully formed armed units on Chechen territory. The association maintains that such units, unlike the national guard, are virtually uncontrollable. It insists that the Chechen parliament adopt without delay a concept of the republic's economic development.

The above demands were voiced at the Round Table session that took place in Groznyy on February 29.

### Russians 'Being Killed' in Chechno-Ingushetia

*LD0103202992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Text] The hallmarks of the situation in Chechen-Ingushetia are lawlessness and criminal extremism, writes the weekly MEGAPOLIS EXPRESS today. It has learned that 10-15 corpses are found floating in sewers, streams, and oil ponds every day. It is mainly Russians who are being killed in Chechno-Ingushetia because their deaths do not lead to bloody reprisals.

According to the weekly, some 20,000 Russian speakers left Chechno-Ingushetia between 1979 and 1989. However, around 50,000 are already thought to have left the Republic since last summer.

### Russia To Allocate Funds for Vorkuta Workers

*LD0203033392 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Text] As an INTERFAX correspondent has been informed by Vyacheslav Sokolov, head of the joint strike

committees of the cities of Inta and Vorkuta, the government of Russia is going to allocate the funds necessary to increase wages for workers in the budget-funded non-coal industries of Vorkuta.

According to Sokolov, Russia's First Vice Premier Gennadiy Burbulis said this on Saturday [29 February] at a meeting with representatives of the joint strike committee of the region, which is in a pre-strike situation.

The pay increases for miners have provided the grounds for preparations for a strike; workers in other industries view them as disproportionately high. Money to increase wages for workers in budget-funded organizations will be allocated from the Russian Federation Government's reserve fund.

Gennadiy Burbulis may visit Syktyvkar in mid-March for consultations with the leadership of the Komi Republic on matters of wages at budget-funded enterprises.

### Irkutsk Deputies Reject Foreign, Moscow Aid

*LD0103202392 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Khodiy]

[Text] Irkutsk, Eastern Siberia February 29 TASS—The population of the Irkutsk region "does not need foreign and Moscow handouts. It should receive the share of profits that corresponds to the contribution of the working people of the Irkutsk region to the Russian economy and budget," a group of deputies to the Irkutsk Regional Council believes.

The group circulated a statement here which suggested that the local authorities officially reject humanitarian assistance and demand from the central authorities "what belongs to the region by right and by work." "Russia's revival cannot be achieved on the basis of food handouts coming from foreign citizens, because they weaken the will of the nation. The revival of Russia should begin with the revival of the feeling of dignity."

Irkutsk is one of the Russian cities, which received humanitarian assistance recently, specifically, food and medication. The authors of the statement believe the need in the assistance emerged "not as a result of a natural calamity in the country, but because of the irresponsible actions of its political leaders."

## International Affairs

### Fokin on CIS Consultative Council Meeting

*LD0203050592 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 26 Feb 92*

["Excerpts" from news conference with Prime Minister Vitold Fokin with correspondent Valeriy Sydorenko after meeting of CIS states' consultative council in Kiev on 25 February; questions and answers beginning with Fokin in Russian—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] After the consultative council meeting was finished, and the concluding documents were signed, its participants answered journalists' questions. Here are just some excerpts of this news conference.

Not all states that were subjects of the former USSR agree with the assessment of their part in the overall foreign debt. What concept of determining this part will there be? Vitold Fokin, the prime minister of Ukraine, answered this question:

[Fokin] There are not so many states that do not recognize the aggregate [as heard] approach to assessing shares [in the former USSR debts] of every subject of the former USSR. It is only one or two republics—excluding the Baltic republics which, as I said, do not recognize themselves to be legal successors of the former Soviet Union.

I will put it this way: several possible variants have been examined today. Each of those is logical and well-grounded in its own way. In particular, the following proposition was discussed: as is known, according to conditions of the memorandum signed in Moscow on 28 October, eight republics agreed on conditions of joint responsibility for repayment of the foreign debt and recognized the Russian Federation to be the guarantor. The rest of the republics refrained from such a step.

Today there was an examination of the position of Ukraine and Ukraine's propositions, which come down to the fact that Ukraine agrees to assume responsibility for servicing the foreign debt if this is the wish of certain republics that did not sign this memorandum. Consequently, Ukraine gave its consent to take upon itself both the assets and liabilities of the corresponding republic. And since the votes in the inter-state council, the creation of which was deemed expedient today, are divided with each state having one vote—in my view, in a just way—those republics handing over their rights to both liabilities and assets of the former USSR to another republic hand over their vote accordingly. This is one of the most probable and acceptable variants in order to satisfy the demand of our creditors and, in the first place, the so-called seven countries.

[Sydorenko] Has the absence of Russia's delegation affected the course of the council?

[Fokin] The absence of Russia has certainly affected the course of the talks, but has by no means prevented the proceedings. However, at the Council of Heads of States, which is scheduled for 20 March in Kiev, heads of states will come to this council having in their hands the prepared documents which have been recognized by experts of the corresponding independent states as real for discussion [as heard] and suitable for serving as a basis for the talks and discussed at the council of heads of the states.

[Sydorenko] What status will the interstate council have?

[Fokin] So far, this decision is of a recommending nature—it is not a resolution. The resolution can certainly be adopted only by heads of states at their council. However, what we propose means that instead of the state council, which only has eight republics as members and which, incidentally, has not started work, a state council, empowered to settle all issues connected to servicing and managing the foreign debt of states which were subjects of the former USSR, can be created.

[Sydorenko] So the consultative council has prepared the necessary conditions for negotiations of heads of states of the Commonwealth, which will take place on 20 March in Kiev.

### Ethnic Germans in Russia To Return to Ukraine

*LD2802184192 Berlin ADN in German 1912 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Text] Kiev (ADN)—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk received Horst Waffenschmidt, parliamentary state secretary in the Federal Interior Ministry, in Kiev today. During the meeting Kravchuk said that the program that had been announced for the return to Ukraine of ethnic Germans in Russia had already started. Ukraine is prepared to implement this project and in this way wants to restore historical and human justice.

At the start of World War II some 400,000 Germans were living in Ukraine. On Stalin's orders they were deported to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and other regions beyond the Urals in 1941.

Kravchuk stressed that with the resettlement of the Germans Ukraine is acting with honorable intentions. The local population understands these matters. Only a small "extremist" part of the population in the Crimea is opposed to the return of the Germans to the peninsula.

Waffenschmidt expressed satisfaction at Ukraine's readiness to enable the Germans to return to their old homeland. He said that many Germans are interested in this. It is now important to put this plan into effect quickly. Germany was prepared to render Ukraine practical assistance in this.

### President Speaks With Italian Prime Minister

*LD2902194192 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Text] Kiev February 28 UKRINFORM-TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk held a phone conversation with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti.

The Ukrainian president briefed Andreotti on the internal political situation in Ukraine and in the Commonwealth member states. The president noted that all political forces support his policy of establishing an independent democratic Ukrainian state.

The two men also raised the issue of servicing the debt of the former Soviet Union. Kravchuk told Andreotti about the results of the recent consultative meeting of representatives of Commonwealth member states in Kiev, saying they agreed to pay the debt in full.

The conversation also focused on the forthcoming meeting between heads of state of the Commonwealth in Kiev on March 20 to deal with military, political and other problems.

Kravchuk and Andreotti also agreed to maintain regular contacts. Kravchuk reaffirmed invitation to the Italian prime minister to pay an official visit to Ukraine.

### Kravchuk Meets Socialist International Official

*LD2902162892 Kiev Radio Kiev First Program Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Text] A well-known political figure in the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel, the vice president of Socialist International, is on a working visit in the capital of Ukraine. Yesterday he had a conversation with Leonid Kravchuk, the president of Ukraine. The sides noted with satisfaction the increasing intensity of Ukrainian-German relations in various spheres.

The Ukrainian president told the guest how the problem of resettling Soviet Germans to historical places of their residence should be solved. Mr. Vogel praised the clear-cut and unambiguous Ukrainian position on this issue. It is too complicated a problem for the FRG to accomodate 2 million Soviet Germans there. Therefore we are in favor of those people, who have been living in Ukraine for several centuries, staying in this land.

At the meeting at the Ukrainian president's office interparty links were also discussed. During the conversation, which took place in the Ukrainian parliament, Mr. Vogel and Ivan Plyushch, the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, expressed mutual satisfaction with current relations between the two states. The guest showed interest in many issues of life of our young state, particularly, in specific projects which would help Ukraine to come out of the state of crisis and in the implementation of which Germany could take part.

Volodymyr Hrynyov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and leaders of a number of standing commissions took part in the meeting at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

In the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers, Mr. Vogel met with Vitold Fokin, the prime minister of Ukraine. He familiarized the guest with the course of economic reform in Ukraine and told the results of the interstate Consultative Council for issues of creating the necessary conditions for timely fulfillment of debt obligations of the former USSR. Relations between Ukraine and Russia and the position of Ukraine in the CIS were also discussed. We consider Ukraine to be a stabilizing element in the CIS and want to develop all-around links with Ukraine in the future, Mr. Hans-Jochen Vogel said.

### Kravchuk Comments on Career, Beliefs, Russia

*92UN0852A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 8, Feb 92 pp 1, 3-4*

[Interview with Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk, by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent N. Zhelnorova; place and date not given: "I Do Not Want To Overpower Russia"]

[Text] [Zhelnorova] Mr. President, in Russia you are regarded as an "out-and-out separatist," a "smart fox," who is taking away Ukraine, the Crimea, and a fleet; one who creates—"to spite the neighbor"—a strong nuclear state; and walks away from Russia into Europe. "Our love was joyless, so there will be no sadness in parting." Is that it?

[Kravchuk] I have come to the conclusion that the idea of an independent Ukraine, of creating one's own state, has sunk so deeply into the popular consciousness that removing it from there would only be possible at enormous cost.

Right now, exactly in connection with this, it is being said that Ukraine is a separatist, that it breaks away, wants to leave the Commonwealth; but the entire history of humanity is filled with desire for freedom and independence! So how can one be guided by special interests or a deformed mentality, such as "We have been one, we cannot separate"; besides, Ukraine does not actually want to walk away and break all the ties! What is taking place here is a substitution of notions. The Soviet notion: to live together means to unite ourselves into a collective of a "kolkhoz" type, where there is one chairman, who dictates everything. But we have already had it in our history! We all know what the result was.

[Zhelnorova] Did you have a premonition that you would become president of Ukraine? That you would have a historic role in the destiny of your motherland?

[Kravchuk] Not a premonition—confidence. I can explain why. During the election campaign I had hundreds of meetings with voters. From their remarks, the look in their eyes, their questions I realized that I would be elected president.

[Zhelnorova] Ilf and Petrov coined this expression: "We all love the Soviet system, but one cannot make a profession out of it." It so happened in your life that you had made a profession out of that love at the time when the party was the ruling force. Now it is democracy, and you are building your profession on the dislike for the CPSU...

[Kravchuk] Had I, at the time I joined the party, had the information I have today—about the famine in Ukraine, about the persecution of intelligentsia, and other horrible manifestations of Stalinism, I would not have joined the party and would not have served it. But I learned of all of this in... 1989. Even when I was a department head in the Central Committee, I did not have specific information on these things.

[Zhelnorova] "Oh, it is not hard to deceive me for I am glad to be deceived..." Many people read banned books, listened to the "voices" in order to get to the truth...

[Kravchuk] I also listened, and read radio intercepts... But when you do not have documents, and when the entire propaganda machine, of which I was a part, is geared to prove that it is all lies, provocations, you begin to believe. Information from the West? Clear as day—they are enemies, they are trying to undermine our bright future... Documents, on the other hand, have such an unbelievably strong effect. After reading them, everything in my mind changed overnight in respect to "those" policies, "that" state, and "that" party.

[Zhelnorova] If you were still in the dark until 1989, it means you could not have supported the policy started in 1985 by Gorbachev?

[Kravchuk] At first I supported it. First, we were already tired of the laments, of the speeches of sick people: Brezhnev, Chernenko. I used to sit in front of the television set in cold sweat and pray they would not do something stupid. As a human being, I was ashamed.

But then Gorbachev started zigzagging. Of course, the best—although it is also the hardest—line is to stay at the center. (Actually, for a president it cannot be otherwise). First, he sprinted to the democrats—but there were 17 million Communists behind him. I was present at plenums and party congresses; I saw how he was being dragged back—"Why do you need democracy?" they said. He was afraid he would be strangled politically. But this is where he needed decisiveness. Since he chose democracy in 1985, he should not have abandoned it in 1989!

[Zhelnorova] Do you think of him now as a genius or a villain?

[Kravchuk] A man who has done quite a lot. At that time—in 1985—one had to be very decisive and courageous to say what we heard from him. Today I think of him as a man who, having embarked on this trip, did not have enough wisdom to go all the way.

[Zhelnorova] Perhaps this is natural: The energy is not the same, and the main task is accomplished?

[Kravchuk] No, this was an incorrect position.

[Zhelnorova] These days, everybody is complaining: People complain about the government; the government about the Supreme Soviet; the Supreme Soviet about the president; and the president on the history and not being understood by the people. What is your complaint?

[Kravchuk] The people have lost their last shreds of patience and have elected presidents in the hope that the latter will do something. I have no right to complain about the people; I have to improve their lives. Otherwise, why am I a president?

[Zhelnorova] In 1917 we wanted to build a kingdom of good; instead, we created an empire of evil. Perhaps, this is because there was no God in the souls of the creators. Do you believe in God? Do you have his blessing in your undertakings?

These people were devoid of wisdom, goodness, and inner culture. I watched Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Neither even had respect for those sitting next to them. Each lived in the clouds, put himself above the people because of the lack of intellect. But deep inside they felt their handicaps. So instead of doing things for the people, they did evil things to them. This system also separated a man from property, from the tools of production, and from the land. Even a man became state property. All of us are products of a rotten system.

[Zhelnorova] Why did you choose to not become a prime minister, as Yeltsin did? Perhaps that is why you are keeping Fokin in his job—because when the time comes you are planning to take this post as well?

[Kravchuk] No. I follow the world practice: If an administrative structure is set up, it must work. I do not want to hurt anyone's feelings, but I believe that the desire to take all the power in one's hands is—perhaps, not necessarily populism, but at least smacks of unjustified recklessness: See, it says, I am so brave and decisive that I am not afraid to take all the power.

I am convinced that each should tend to his business, no matter how banal it may sound.

[Zhelnorova] Were it up to you, what would you do with the prisoners in Matrosskaya Tishina?

[Kravchuk] My will is not the point. If the investigation collects enough material, the case should go to court. However, the information I have on the part some of the putschists had in squandering the people's money also requires a court investigation.

[Zhelnorova] Is this why you do not get rid of the people who served the party? Do not destroy the old structures, do not reject old specialists?

[Kravchuk] None of the Central Committee secretaries have become a part of the administrative structure. And not because they are all so bad... It so happened after the GKChP [State Committee on the State of Emergency] that they cannot apply to leadership positions.

[Zhelnorova] You mentioned the GKChP. During the putsch you gave a television interview, and it was very cautious. Do you regret it now?

[Kravchuk] I was acting on a basic principle: If Ukraine is independent, it acts independently. The events in Moscow could not have a direct political effect on us. To tell you honestly, my main concern was for Ukraine to not get dragged into this palace coup.

[Zhelnorova] What does the power give you?

[Kravchuk] It gives less than it takes. It takes all my personal life. Sometimes I go to my dacha—my grandchildren are there, and I get away from other things a bit. Otherwise, from morning to night—business, deliberations.

[Zhelnorova] What are your favorite dishes?

[Kravchuk] Meat. I am a good cook. In the past, when we had guests for holidays, they asked in advance that I do the cooking. All kinds of meat dishes, dumplings, potato pancakes. In this, I am the best in my family. Never had much luck with soups, though. Anyway, now I cannot really spare the time for the kitchen.

[Zhelnorova] What was the latest book you read?

[Kravchuk] Grushevskiy and Vinnichenko. Started on Dragomanov.

[Zhelnorova] Any political figure—such is the fate—has friends and enemies. Whom would you call your enemy?

[Kravchuk] I do not think that I have political enemies. Nor can I be an enemy to any political figure in our CIS or in another state. Because in politics it is impossible to be a personal enemy; otherwise it grows into enmity.

Speaking on a wider scale, I have no doubt that I have many enemies who are capable of going against me—and not just with words. I have received many letter with threats; some were even planning a terrorist act.

[Zhelnorova] Should you, by a twist of fate, have to leave the post of the president, which of your friends will stay with you?

[Kravchuk] Those who stayed with me regardless of what twists my fate took.

[Zhelnorova] I heard that when you were a child, you went caroling at Christmas time and once gave all the money received for caroling to some charitable society. Is it true?

[Kravchuk] All children went caroling then. I was born in Volyn, in a village near Rovno. Some consider this region Western Ukraine, but before 1917 it was czarist Russia. My grandfather participated in the Brusilov offensive—he served in the czarist army; my father served in the Polish one.

For Christmas, we made a creches in the shape of a pretty church or a star. And once we collected a large (for us) amount and handed it over—as others did—to the Red Cross.

[Zhelnorova] What was most upsetting to you during the latest meeting in Minsk?

[Kravchuk] That people think not in perspective, but exclusively in terms of today. Take the question of the army. The general concept was: We have to pacify the army. Let us create—as the army wants it—one army for all states. But can there be one army for 11 or 12 independent states? I believe there cannot. Because in that case either the army is not unified, or the states are not independent. Or it will sooner or later put itself above these states. And as soon as it takes over, this is the end of democracy. Because the generals can never (and it does not mean that they are bad) build a democratic state, with its pluralism of opinions and free play of political forces. That is, by trying to pacify the army, we may make it unmanageable.

[Zhelnorova] Where do you see the solution to this problem?

[Kravchuk] Take NATO. Each NATO member state has its own army. At the same time, they have joint strategic forces.

From whom are you planning to defend yourself: Russia, Turkey, or Germany?

[Kravchuk] A state creates an army to protect national interests. An army is an attribute of statehood. Since this world is not entirely peaceful, the people must be protected.

[Zhelnorova] Can you reveal this secret: Where, and against whom are the warheads Yeltsin was talking about aimed?

[Kravchuk] This problem is far from simple. As to Yeltsin's statement, it has a long way to go before it is implemented in practice. Where to aim them can be decided at the time of launch. Yeltsin said: We have taken all missiles off ready status. I immediately called the army commander in chief. He said: "No, everything is as before." And I thought: "Thank God."

[Zhelnorova] How can you all together share control of the nuclear button?

[Kravchuk] The control of it cannot be shared. The button is in the hands of Boris Nikolayevich. We have a teleconference capability set up. We decided in Minsk that in addition to that, there also will be a "black box" installed, of the kind that is used on airplanes. It will record all our conversations. Theoretically: If, for instance, Yeltsin decides to push the button, and we say "no," the box will record it. History must know everything.

[Zhelnorova] For goodness sake, who will be there to know—there will be nobody left!

[Kravchuk] But the "black box" will be left.

[Zhelnorova] Can the button be pushed only with the consent of all presidents of nuclear power states?

[Kravchuk] Only. It has been put in writing that now the decision cannot be made by one man.

[Zhelnorova] Your observations: Who has the real power in Russia now?

[Kravchuk] I think, the local authorities. We deal with Russia's regions and we feel that they are acting autonomously, independently.

[Zhelnorova] Can you preclude the possibility of a military coup in Russia?

[Kravchuk] Such an attempt may be made, although I do not believe they will succeed. The military reaching for power means big trouble. People understand it.

[Zhelnorova] On the other hand, the cost of living goes up sharply, and so does the discontent with the authorities, even in the democratic camp...

[Kravchuk] If other forces come to power—national-chauvinists of the type of Pamyat or Zhirinovskiy—something horrible can start: a chain reaction of fighting all manifestations of democracy.

[Zhelnorova] Are you not afraid of Russia as an empire?

[Kravchuk] I would like very much for those Russians who used to consider Ukraine a part of Russia, to stop doing it. Gorbachev, I remember, had this big headache: "How can the Union be without Ukraine?" And I would answer: "We are not forbidding you to build a Russian democratic state, are we? So why are you forbidding it to Ukraine?" This is a great power chauvinism that is bringing out nationalist protest in us.

It would be so good if all Russians understood: Politically, Ukraine and Russia are and will be neighbors who share many common interests. We have to build our policy in accordance with this. It is important for Ukraine to have political and economic stability in Russia. I think it is equally important for Russia to have a similar situation in Ukraine. But all of this has to be based on the recognition that we are independent friendly nations, not one being a part of the other!

[Zhelnorova] A younger brother, an older brother...

[Kravchuk] Even politicians in the Supreme Soviet of Russia believe: Ukraine is a part of Russia. "Ukraine misbehaves." So I analyze it: Where do we misbehave? We are fulfilling the agreements we signed, although not to the full extent. We have no claims on anything Russian: not an inch of soil, not a gram of its riches. We say: Let us do everything in fairness. Rutskoy comes to Kiev, together we sign a communique confirming the agreement between Ukraine and Russia that we do not have territorial claims against each other. Then, after a while, there it goes: give us the Crimea, give us half of Ukraine. And this intolerance in remarks and value judgments!

[Zhelnorova] Which of the CIS presidents do you respect most?

[Kravchuk] He is not a president yet, but I very much respect and value Shushkevich. He is a sensible, calm, and modest man. And the people of Belarus want peace and calm, without claims on a special role. I also think very highly of the desire of other presidents (it became especially noticeable during the Minsk meeting) to protect the interests of their people.

[Zhelnorova] After Minsk, what is the relationship between the Ukrainian "Fox" and the Russian "Bear?"

[Kravchuk] The same as before.

[Zhelnorova] Will the people win in this political competition?

[Kravchuk] We will strive for cooperation. We have to exclude the word "win" from our relations. I have no wish to overpower Russia and Yeltsin.

## Official Discusses Oil Deal in Tehran

*PM0103143992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1*

[ITAR-TASS report from the "From Our Correspondents and World Agencies" column: "Iranian Oil to Ukraine"]

[Text] Questions concerning the annual supply of 4 million tonnes of Iranian crude oil to Ukraine, the construction of an oil pipeline with an output of 50 million tonnes of oil per year and an oil terminal on the Black Sea, the construction of a gas pipeline, and the annual sale of 3 billion cubic meters of natural gas to Ukraine have been discussed at talks between Konstantin Masik, first deputy prime minister of Ukraine, and Gholam Reza Aqazadeh-Kho'i, Iranian petroleum minister, in the Iranian capital.

Iran will purchase in Ukraine iron ore, rolled steel, and spare parts for equipment installed at the Esfahan metallurgical combine.

### Turkish Minister on Business Council Meetings

*TA2902184192 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Text] Industry and Commerce Minister Tahir Kose has said that despite the current problems and uncertainties in Ukraine, officials are willing to increase bilateral trade. Kose, who attended the Turkish-Ukrainian business council meetings in Kiev, Yalta, and Odessa, made a statement in Odessa before leaving for Turkey.

Kose declared that his contacts were extremely beneficial. He reported that Turkish businessmen held talks on ship repair and maintenance, the introduction of ferry services between the two countries, supermarket maintenance and management, and the production of pistons. Reiterating that he will submit his proposal to establish ferry services between Yalta and Sinop to the Transportation Ministry, Kose noted that commercial relations will develop significantly if shore trade can also be established at the same time.

## National Affairs

### Reaction to Crimean Parliament Action Reported

#### Constitution Approved

*LD0103190692 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Crimea ended in Simferopol with the adoption of a number of important decisions. Approved was the draft of the constitution of the Crimean Autonomous Republic, introduced in which were essential changes in the provision on the legal status of the Crimea. One of such amendments envisages to legalize the right on the ownership of land.

Participants in the session adopted a program for the protection of the neediest part of the population in the region under conditions of price liberalization. The government of the autonomous republic has been commissioned with setting up a fund for the poor. The funds of the former Communist Party, which have now been frozen, will be channeled to this fund.

#### Presidium Appeals to Crimea

*LD2902171592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 29 Feb 92*

["Statement by Presidium of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet to Crimean People and Supreme Soviet"—UKRINFORM-TASS headline]

[Text] Kiev, 29 Feb (UKRINFORM-TASS)—"In recent times certain political forces have been calling for changing the status of Crimea, which is in fact an attempt to revise the borders of Ukraine," stated an appeal by the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet addressed to the people and the Supreme Soviet of Crimea, which was circulated here today. It contains a call "to weigh one's approach to all issues of drafting the constitution of Crimea, to take care of social peace and concord of the Ukrainian people."

The address recalls that during a session of the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet some deputies' groups, at the beginning of the examination of a draft constitution, proposed that a provision saying that Crimea is a constituent part of Ukraine be withdrawn. "Taking into account social tension that exists around this issue and diverse political views held by some groups of the population, such calls may lead to violation of social and national peace not only in Crimea, but in the entire Ukraine," the Presidium of the Ukrainian parliament stated.

#### Official on Secession

*LD0103175392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1103 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council Vladimir Grinev: it is necessary to early determine the powers of the Crimea as an autonomous entity within Ukraine. Commenting to PF [POSTFACTUM] on the Crimean Supreme Council passing the law on the Republic of the Crimea as an official title of the Democratic State of the Crimea, Grinev also said: An attempt at establishing statehood is undoubtedly seen in the Crimea. And there is nothing negative in it. Further developments in the Crimea, Grinev maintains, will largely depend on the policy of the Ukrainian Supreme Council.

The tendency of seceding from Ukraine is fairly strong in the Crimea, but there is a serious counteraction, as a sizable portion of the population are rather cool about the peninsula's secession. It is this latter factor that Ukraine should capitalize on to retain the Crimea, Grinev argued. If the Crimea secedes, it will lose more than it will gain. Having obtained certain political dividends and regarded onto a market economy, the Crimea will have to forfeit advantages in the economic cooperation with Ukraine, he went on. The Ukrainian Supreme Council Presidium is drawing a statement concerning the developments in the Crimea. It will not be tough but will be calling for discretion, Vladimir Grinev stressed.

#### Groups Support Ukrainian Crimea

*LD0203113492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Mar (TASS)—A train traveling to Sevastopol with representatives of various Lvov Oblast public organizations was stopped at around 0700 on the morning of 1 March near Verkhnesadovoye station, Captain Valeriy Novikov, chief of the CIS Navy press

center, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today. The reason for the incident was the refusal of people from Lvov to allow members of the Sevastopol internal affairs directorate to enter the border area. In their effort to enter the town, which is still closed, around 900 people blocked the rail line. Electric trains traveling to Sevastopol were stopped.

Deputies from the Sevastopol City Soviet met to discuss the situation that same morning. It was decided to allow the people from Lvov to go into the town.

After arriving in Sevastopol, 330 emissaries from Lvov Oblast formed columns and marched from the station to Nakhimov Square carrying national flags. They stopped briefly and held a rally with the slogans "The Black Sea Fleet is Ukrainian" and "Crimea for Ukraine." They then boarded passenger launches at Grafskaya pier, replaced the maritime fleet pennants with Ukrainian flags, and sailed around the harbors and Sevastopol bay. They left the town the same day. Fortunately the protest on 1 March went off without confrontation with the people of Sevastopol.

## Third Rukh Congress Opens in Kiev 28 Feb

### Kravchuk Speaks

*LD2802172692 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1547 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Text] [Correspondent Vladimir Sokolov] The third congress of Rukh—the most influential political movement in Ukraine—opened in Kiev today. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk delivered a speech at the congress that was met with tempestuous applause.

The most important thing today, he said, is that Ukraine's independence exists, and that Rukh has made the greatest contribution in achieving it.

The president expressed his conviction that Rukh will also make no less a contribution to building an independent Ukrainian state, which still has to become much stronger, and the main prerequisite for this is the unity of all progressive patriotic forces.

Leonid Kravchuk also noted that in his recent telephone conversations with President Bush and President Mitterrand they expressed the common view that Ukraine has already become a stabilizing factor in Europe.

The president spoke very sharply with regard to imperial forces in Russia and especially its mass news media, which are constantly and without cause attacking independent Ukraine at every turn. But at the same time, he added, in Russia there are genuine democratic forces on which we should lean and whom we should help. Otherwise, as Leonid Kravchuk said, Zhirinovskiy may end up taking Yeltsin's place in Russia.

Regarding events in the Crimea, the president said that both the people and the Crimean Supreme Soviet have the right of free will. However, the striving not to even mention that Crimea is part of Ukraine violates accords as well as Ukraine's Constitution. Leonid Kravchuk expressed confidence that common sense will prevail both among the people and in Crimea's Supreme soviet.

[Announcer] Well, since you are talking about the Rukh congress, what does the political situation of the movement itself look like?

[Sokolov] A report by Rukh Chairman Ivan Drach was devoted to this subject. We have not yet won the struggle for Ukraine's independence, he said. This requires both unity and a turn from the critical position of storm and onslaught to everyday affairs. If before Rukh did not set tasks to gain power, Drach continued, then now it needs to put forward its own people for all bodies of power, from top to bottom, to become builders of Ukraine's economic might.

Ivan Drach expressed alarm that Rukh has arrived at its present congress with internal conflicts on such problems as whether to help the president or to be in opposition to him; whether to turn Rukh into a narrow party or to retain it as a broad democratic movement; and on a number of other problems. However, he expressed confidence that the so-called crisis in Rukh is just a stage in its history and that the movement was far from obsolete.

Like the president, Ivan Drach talked about Russia's chauvinist and—as he put it psychological—war against Ukraine, whose independence is not to the liking of somebody there. In conclusion, he called on the movement's participants to have unity, discipline, and to help the economy.

Deputy chairmen of Rukh then delivered supplementary reports and foreign guests also spoke.

The congress continues.

### Member Criticizes Kravchuk

*LD0103122992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1132 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[From the "Politics" section; "Member of Rukh Council Says Ukraine Is Not Independent"—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] Kiev (PF) [POSTFACTUM]—Vyacheslav Chernovyl, member of the greater Rukh council, says he does not agree with those who believe that his organization's main aim—to proclaim Ukrainian independence—has already been achieved. Addressing the third Rukh congress, under way in Kiev, with his report on February 28, Vyacheslav Chernovyl also said that the Ukraine was still not a state, but a blueprint for a state. After offering his analysis of the current situation, Chernovyl concluded that the key posts of power were still in the hands of nomenclature, preserved and tinted a different shade. Chernovyl added he was sure that those people would not permit any radical reforms, either political, economic, or social.

As far as his attitude to the Ukrainian president was concerned, Vyacheslav Chernovyl said he did not believe that Rukh and Leonid Kravchuk had one and the same aim. The president is building a sovereign power based on nomenclature, within the family of fraternal CIS states, while the aim of Rukh is to build a democratic Ukrainian power, Chernovyl stated. March 1 is scheduled to see the election of a new Rukh leadership.

### Cochairmen Elected

*LD0103190892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[By UKRINFORM correspondents Aleksandr Belov and Yuriy Zabolotnyy]

[Text] Kiev, 1 Mar (TASS)—"Rukh is remaining in opposition and supporting Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on a selective basis"—that was the decision reached by delegates to the third All-Ukrainian Congress of the Ukrainian People's Rukh which ended in Kiev today.

In accordance with changes to the Rukh rules, its main aim is to "assert the statehood of independent Ukraine and to build the Ukrainian power as a democratic republic."

The Congress elected three Rukh cochairmen—Mikhaylo Goryn, Ivan Drach, and Vyacheslav Chernovyl. Their deputies and members of the central body also were elected.

Congress delegates who came from all oblasts in Ukraine and the Republic of Crimea adopted changes to the Rukh program, as well as several appeals and resolutions.

### Goals of New Peasants Party Criticized

*AU2902155892 Ivano-Frankivsk HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian, 8 Feb 92 p 4*

[Commentary by Viktor Hlyantsev: "Soup With a Taste of Poison"]

[Text] **The mass media have reported that a Peasant Party of Ukraine has been created in Kherson. Today, hardly anyone would be surprised by the birth of yet another political group. This event might also go unnoticed had it not been for those "buts" that has given rise to unpleasant associations.**

The theses of the program that have been proclaimed do not quite fit together or, more specifically, they are in full contradiction. The founders of the party emphasize: **"The new party comes out in support of an independent Ukrainian state and favors the recognition of a common economic space within the boundaries of the former USSR."**

How can a sovereign Ukraine be built within the imperial embrace of the ill-famed Union that no longer exists? What is in Gorbachev's "economic space," a space within which Mikhail Sergeyevich strived to reunite the republics that have become free states? Behind the term "space," one can see the desire of former Communist Party structures to make their way to the state helm and to restore the "single and indivisible" [Russia], like in the old times that were good for them.

This is not all. As the days grow longer, the storms are stronger. For example, what is the following formulation worth: **"The party does not object to granting land to peasants for organizing individual farms, but it considers privatization of the property of collective and state farms inadmissible."**

Starodubtsev, a well-known supporter of this platform and a participant in the state putsch, is now behind bars but his cause is alive. The preservation of dictatorship in the agrarian sector is the dream of many of his followers who were nurtured at the generous peasant trough. God knows how difficult it is for them to part from such a wet-nurse. All obvious and secret methods are resorted to (the support of extremist forces and restorers of totalitarianism) in order to maintain the slave-holding pyramid.

For the sake of appearances, they force themselves to maintain that they are not against the institution of farming (what else can they say if free farmers enjoy general support of the population). However, in fact, they act in an entirely different way. They inflict harm wherever they can. They come out against demonopolization and privatization, in short, against those who are trying to establish private ownership on the foundation of the deformed and obsolete collective ownership.

Recently, people's deputies voted for private ownership at the fifth session of the Ukrainian Supreme Council. Consequently, the Peasants Party will fight against them and against their resolution, because the members of this party consider privatization of collective farm structures inexpedient. However, we know: Unless collective farms are disbanded, there cannot be any mass movement toward the establishment of free farming, something that constitutes the force that provides the citizens in civilized countries with their daily bread.

It is not difficult to foresee what it will cost the farmers to stand up for their right to exist, now that a state minister—Minister of Agriculture O. Tkachenko—joined the council of the new political structure. It is as clear as day that he will pursue the policy of his comrades, a policy aimed at a material and technological provision of collective and state farms. It will only remain for the farmers to wait for those crumbs that will drop off the administrative-command cart: a tractor, an automobile, or a sack of sowing material. They will continue to live a miserable life and bustle about in the deep furrow at the periphery of the social restructuring of the agrarian sector.

If we transpose words, the Peasants Party of Ukraine may be called the Peasants Ukrainian Party [Selyanska

Ukrayinska Partiya]. As an acronym, it will sound as SUP [soup]. The supporters of the "common economic space" have cooked such a soup in the imperial pot that smells throughout Ukraine as something rotten. I wonder who is going to eat this soup that is simply teeming with poisonous microbes.

## Moldova

### Dnestr Guardsmen, Cossacks Clash With Police

*LD0203095892 Moscow TASS in English 0900 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fyodor Angeli]

[Text] Chisinau March 2 TASS—Guardsmen from the Dnestr region and Cossacks, who had arrived in Tiraspol from a number of regions of Russia, surrounded the Dubossary District Police Department last night and demanded, in an ultimatum form, that the personnel abandon it under the penalty of the destruction of both the building and personnel, the Press Bureau of the Moldovan Interior Ministry reported.

In furtherance of their intentions, the guardsmen brought armoured personnel carriers closer to the police department building.

At four a.m. guardsmen and Cossacks, upon breaking down the door, penetrated the building, disarmed and arrested the personnel. Police did not open an effective fire.

By five a.m., patrols of guardsmen and Cossacks, reinforced by armoured personnel carriers, were posted on all bridges and roads of the left bank of the Dnestr.

The Press Bureau of the Interior Ministry also reported that at 22.00 on March 1, Dnestr guardsmen and Cossacks opened a submachine- gun fire on Dubossary Police Department personnel who had arrived at the local clothing factory in response to a provoked call. There are casualties on both sides.

### Events Said To Thwart UN Entry

*LD0203125692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1219 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[By MOLDOVA-PRES - TASS correspondent]

[Text] Chisinau, 2 Mar (TASS)—The Government of Moldova has described the clash in Dubossary as a "provocation" aimed at "aggravating the socio-political situation and violating the territorial integrity of the Republic of Moldova".

A statement issued by the government today says that the clash in Dubossary was intended "to disrupt the acceptance of the Republic of Moldova into the United Nations scheduled for 2 March."

The Government of Moldova placed responsibility for the incident on "leaders of separatist forces in the Dnestr region which are supported by reactionary imperialist forces".

### Armed Groups Reportedly Assemble

*LD0203102792 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 2 Mar 92*

["Situation in Dubossary Worsens"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 2 ITAR-TASS—At present armed formations have assembled on the right bank of the Dnestr river, Vice-President of the Dnestr Republic Aleksandr Karman informed today by telephone.

According to the president, the city authorities proposed to immediately withdraw the police from Dubossary, but Moldova's Prime Minister Valeriu Muravschi warned, in case any action is taken against the police, Moldova will send to the city whatever forces it posseses.

On Sunday [1 March] evening the city department chief of the Ministry of the Interior Major Igor Sipchenko and Pyotr Oleinik of the Guards were wounded in Dubossary. Aleksandr Karman informed. Captain Dmitriy Ivanski, a senior district police inspector of the Keinar district department (the right bank of the Dnestr) dressed in civilian clothes and armed with a hand grenade and a pistol was detained at the site of the crime. Igor Sipchenko died tonight.

### State of Emergency Imposed

*LD0203120992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Text] We have just received by fax a decree by Smirnov, the president of the Dnestr Republic, announcing that as of today a state of emergency is imposed in Dubossary city and rayon.

### Police May Be Hostages

*AU0203174692 Paris AFP in English 1601 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Excerpt] Chisinau, March 2 (AFP) - A state of emergency was declared in eastern Moldova on Monday [2 March] after armed groups opposed to the Moldovan Government attacked a police headquarters at Dubossary, leaving several dead and wounded.

The decree declaring the state of emergency was issued by Igor Smirnov, president of the self-proclaimed Dnestr Republic on the eastern bank of the Dnestr River.

Moldovan authorities said at least three people had been killed and five wounded in the machine-gun attack overnight Sunday [1 March].

Groups of cossacks and members of the "national guard" of the Dnestr Republic used armoured vehicles to blockade roads leading to Dubossary after the attack, a Moldovan Interior Ministry spokesman said.

The situation in the region remained tense, the authorities in Chisinau said.

The interior ministry spokesman, Dumitru Corlateanu, said the Moldovan police forces inside the headquarters at Dubossary had withdrawn, but he cited unconfirmed reports that some or all of them had been taken hostage. [passage omitted]

## Kazakhstan

### Ministry Denies Nuclear Proliferation Reports

*924P0093A Alma-Ata EKSPRESS in Russian 29 Jan 92 p 1*

["Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan: The Nuclear Bluff"]

[Text] Despite numerous statements by the Kazakhstan leadership on fulfilling its obligations in regard to nuclear arms nonproliferation, the foreign mass media continue to publish untruthful reports that the republic is conducting trade in this type of weaponry. At the end of last week, such a report appeared in a British newspaper, THE DAILY MAIL, maintaining that Iran is attempting to buy intercontinental ballistic nuclear missiles from Kazakhstan. It alleges that it became possible to obtain them fully assembled after Kazakhstan gained its independent statehood. The report also says that President N. Nazarbayev has allegedly already paid at least two unannounced visit to Teheran and discussed the terms of the deal there.

It is not the first time such conjectures have been published in the press, which shows quite clearly their organized nature. The entire logic of events suggests that these actions pursue a goal of damaging Kazakhstan's international reputation on the eve of its acceptance into the United Nations. One gets the impression that by presenting the republic's policy in a perverted way before the world community, the authors of such materials consciously nurture in people's minds a distrust towards Kazakhstan and its leadership.

The Republic of Kazakhstan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs condemns the dissemination of false information on the nuclear arms trade with whomever and on N. Nazarbayev's secret trips to Tehran. During his recent meetings with British Home Secretary Douglas Hurd, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew, President Nursultan Nazarbayev once again confirmed his position regarding Kazakhstan's participation in the disarmament and nuclear nonproliferation processes, which met with understanding on the part of the representatives of the foreign affairs agencies of these countries.

It would have been unforgivable for these provocative materials to damage the mutual understanding that is emerging with such difficulty in the resolution of one of the most important current issues.

### Situation at Space Center Reported Normal

*LD2802203992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1934 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Alma-Ata—The conflict on Baykonur space launch pad will not influence the start of the Soviet-German crew scheduled for March 17. This is the opinion of Baykonur commanders. According to sources close to Baykonur commandment, during the mass commotion of February 23-25 four barracks buildings, several service facilities and 4 warehouses were set on fire, 17 cars were stolen. 35,000 rubles were lifted from the military unit's bank. The inspection of the burnt down barracks revealed three dead bodies, two of them were identified. Procurator's office started action on these cases. At present the situation becomes normal. Approximately 3,000 soldiers conscripted to military construction units were granted short-term vacations and set out for home. According to unchecked information, one soldier was thrown out of the train on the way and died.

Nikolay Khlyupin, deputy chairman of Kazakhstan State Committee on Defense, told PF that several hundred soldiers arrived in Alma-Ata, where authorities are working on providing them with food supply and further transportation. Kazakhstan government's commission headed by Sagadat Nurmagambetov, chairman of the State Committee on Defense, continues its work at Baykonur.

### Geologists Locate New, Shallow Oil Deposit

*OW0103185992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1438 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[From the "Soviet Business Report"; Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A new oil deposit has been found by Kazakh geologists located within the boundaries of the Yuzhnoturgaiskiy oil and gas basin. Scientists are still determining the amounts of oil there. Specialists think that oil at this deposit will be suitable for producing car and plane fuel, since it has few harmful additives.

The first deposit at the Yuzhnoturgaiskiy cavity was opened in the mid-80s at the Kumkolskoe deposit which has potential reserves of up to 90 mn [million] tons of oil. Industrial development of this deposit was only started in 1990, however, and the deposit now supplies 1.5 mn tons of oil a year.

At the Kazakh Institute of Geological Sciences, an "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent learned that the new deposit, located next to Kumkol, is unique in that the oil lies at relatively shallow depths between 1000 to 2000 meters; thus drilling costs can be kept to a minimum. Geographically, the new deposit is located at the center of industrial complexes in southern Kazakhstan, which will make transportation to the Chimkentskiy and Pavlodarskiy oil refining factories easier.

According to the Institute's estimates, potential reserves at the Yuzhnoturgaiskiy basin could be as high as 400 mn tons of oil and 400 bn [billion] cubic meters of gas.

## Kyrgyzstan

### Supreme Soviet Endorses New Government

*LD0203110192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[From the "Novosti" newscast; presented by Nelli Petkova]

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan has adopted a new government structure and endorsed a new government, as proposed by President Askar Akayev.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Fedorov] This is the third government the republic has had in less than two years. It is clear that the changes are needed because things are not going very well. Kyrgyzstan is taking the ubiquitous pressure of politics on the economy very badly.

In this situation, the president is taking the leadership of the government into his own hands and becoming chairman of the government. What came as a complete surprise to everyone, parliament included, was the nomination for the vice presidency of Feliks Kulov, minister of internal affairs, who during the days of the putsch was dubbed the people's general by the democrats. The current prime minister has been demoted to deputy chairman of the government. Nasirdin Isanov, who was killed in a road accident, has been replaced in this post by Tursunbek Chingyshev, a man who has had experience of gruelling but unproductive talks in the CIS context.

[Begin recording] [Prime Minister T.T. Chingyshev] In the strategic sense, we, the new government, support the whole move to market relations, to a free and civilized economic system, and that line continues. In practical terms, concerning how the transition to market relations is to be organized as regards its component elements, here certain questions remain, in particular regarding agriculture. We have decided to halt the formation of several private peasant farms for this year while spring field work is carried out and up to the time of the harvest. In other words, land reform is being halted a little.

[Fedorov] What is your attitude to the idea of preserving a common television service for the CIS?

[Chingyshev] I believe that agreement should be reached to retain this system in the longer term. I support a common television service for the CIS. [end recording]

### General Dismissed for Unauthorized Action

*OW2902184592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament of Kyrgyzstan dismissed Air Force General Viktor Belovskiy, commander of an Air Force training unit located in the town of Takmak.

12 training aircraft of L31 type were flown from Kyrgyzstan to Barnaul (Russia) on February 19-20 at Belovskiy's command without notifying the Kyrgyz government.

The parliament considered it an unauthorized smuggling out of assets belonging to a sovereign state. Hearings showed, however, that an order by the Air Force Command of the Turkestan Military District to fly the aircraft to Russia was received by Belovskiy as early as last September.

As soon as the government of Kyrgyzstan learned about the incident, it requested that the aircraft be brought before March 20 back to where they were previously deployed.

One of the reasons for Belovskiy's dismissal was a provision of the Minsk agreements on setting up the CIS whereby no order by the high military command may be carried out in the territory of any state without a prior approval by the state's government.

A parliamentary commission was set up to investigate the incident.

### Official Says Visit to Canada 'Fruitful'

*OW2802000492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1900 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Thursday [27 February] session of the Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet confirmed the new chairman of the state committee for foreign economic ties: Askar Sarygulov [name as received], 35, who was until recently the president's economics aide.

Sarygulov described the results of his working visit to Canada in an interview with IF [INTERFAX]. He went to meet with the Canadian businesspeople willing to cooperate with Kyrgyzstan and invest in its economy. The visit was fruitful, says Sarygolov. In March Bishkek will receive experts of well-known companies ready to invest in the republic's communications system, mining and agriculture, said Sarygulov.

He believes Kyrgyzstan is an attractive investment for Canadians because they are impressed with President Akayev's performance and have confidence in the republic's economic reforms. Akayev's visit to Canada led to an agreement on a 5-year credit for the purchase of 2.5 mn. tons of grain.

## Armenia

### Azerbaijan Receiving Arms From Turkey Denied

*TA2802221292 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2100 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Text] Armenian Defense Minister Vazgen Sarkisyan has said that allegations that Turkey is supplying arms to Azerbaijan are unfounded.

According to a report by ANATOLIA, Sarkisyan has declared that allegations that Turkey and Iran are supplying arms like multiple rocket launchers to Azerbaijan are unfounded. He added that such claims are useful only to the circles interested in preventing the promotion of political and economic cooperation between Armenia and those two countries.

### Ter-Petrosyan, Velayati Hold News Conference

*LD2802185892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1732 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigral Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 28 Feb (TASS)—The decision to exchange embassies between Iran and Armenia as soon as possible, readiness to expand bilateral cooperation in all fields, Armenian support for the Iranian peacemaking mission on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue—these are the main results of today's one-day visit by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati to Yerevan. Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and the Iranian minister held a news conference tonight on the results of the visit, where they reported on the results of the talks.

Iran was among the first countries to recognize the independence of Armenia, the president of the republic recalled. Armenia welcomes Iran's peace-making mission, its interest in restoring peace in the region, and its readiness to mediate in the search for a peaceful political solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, he stated, "just as it may welcome any peace initiative which furthers a peaceful settlement" of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

In his turn, 'Ali Akbar Velayati described his talks today with the Armenian leadership as very valuable, rich in content, and useful. Iran and Armenia are neighboring states with a long history, he stressed. And it is natural, the minister continued, for Iran to recognize the independence of Armenia immediately after it was declared. After announcing that an Iranian Embassy is opening in Yerevan on Saturday [29 February], the leader of the foreign policy department of the Islamic Republic of Iran stated that the Iranian side does not see any obstacles in the way of constructing a bridge across the river Araks and of establishing regular communications between Armenia and Iran.

He reported that the expansion of transportation with Armenia will be the focus of the talks with Iran's Transportation Ministry in Yerevan in two weeks. Armenia, the visitor stated, can regard the Islamic Republic of Iran as a friendly country through which it will be provided with an open road to the world and an outlet to the sea. "We see no obstacles to the development of mutually beneficial bilateral relations in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres."

Regarding Iran's peace-making mission to resolve the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, the foreign minister noted that the aim of this mission is to create conditions to "overcome the difficulties" in relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Velayati expressed the view that the sides will reach agreement and seek ways to a peaceful solution of the problem. He called his visits to Baku and Yerevan "a first step, which must be continued."

### Iranian Foreign Minister Departs

*LD2802233292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2244 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Feb (TASS)—'Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Republic of Iran, left Yerevan for home on the evening of 27 February upon completion of a one-day visit to Armenia. He held talks with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and other republican leaders on developing political, economic, and cultural cooperation between Iran and Armenia. These talks, which took place in Yerevan, focussed on a political settlement of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, in which respect Iran has undertaken the role of intermediary to reestablish peace and stability in the region. The head of the Iranian foreign policy establishment also met Armenian parliamentary deputies.

### Cadets Begin Military Training in Georgia

*NC2802051592 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1500 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Report by Lida Gazaryan: "The Foundations of the National Army Being Laid"]

[Excerpt] With the government decision [words indistinct] conscripts from the republic have begun serving in Georgia because there are no military academies in Armenia. During their three-and-a-half month stay in Georgia, the recruits will take the courses they need to receive officers' commissions. Following the training, the cadets will return to Armenia to take part in creating a national army. [passage omitted]

## Azerbaijan

### CIS Regiment Reportedly To Withdraw by 3 Mar

*LD0203104792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Text] The command of the 366th Regiment, which is deployed in Stepanakert, has been ordered to completely

pull out of their positions by tomorrow—3 March—and withdraw to a part of Nagorno-Karabakh where the regiment will be disbanded. A RIA correspondent was informed of this by a member of the Trancaucasian Military District Headquarters. He said the officers and warrant officers of the regiment will continue their service in Russia. As for the sergeants and privates, it is planned to attach them to military units deployed in Azerbaijan and Georgia.

### Khodzhaly 'Wiped Off the Face of the Earth'

*LD2902154592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1443 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Text] Baku, 29 Feb (AZERINFORM-TASS)—The AZERINFORM Information Agency today circulated an appeal by inhabitants of the town of Khodzhaly in Nagorno-Karabakh. It says that on the night of 26 February, Khodzhaly, a town with a population of 6,000, "was wiped off the face of the earth" by Armenian military formations. As a result, the appeal notes, over 1,000 peaceful inhabitants perished, and hundreds of people were injured or are missing. The authors of the appeal claim that this was carried out "with the active support of the personnel and the heavy army equipment of the 336th Motorized Rifle Regiment."

AZERINFORM also circulates a statement by the journalists' organization of the republic, "Azerbaydzhan Zhurnalister Birliyi," which alleges that "the Armenian aggressors are not allowing journalists into Khodzaly in order to hide their atrocities."

### Response From Both Sides

*OW0103143692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1331 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azeri interior ministry and President Mutalibov's press service confirmed reports that over 1,000 people died in the Azeri town of Khodzhaly at the hands of Armenian hitmen and CIS troops. The total number of Khodzhaly residents missing in action, wounded and frozen at mountain passes reached about 4,000 people.

The press service of the Armenian parliament denied that the Azeri side sustained significant losses in Khodzhaly. According to Turks-Meskhetines, who fled to Armenia from the area, all Azeri civilians left Khodzhaly by buses before the hostilities began.

The press service of the Nagorno-Karabakh parliament told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that the battlefield task in Khodzhaly was to neutralize fire directed at the city of Stepanakert (Khankendy).

It added that there were about 1,000 people in Khodzhaly at the moment when the armed clashes began, half of them OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] members and soldiers of the Azeri national army, along with a small group of Turks-Meskhetines left in the town as hostages by Azerbaijan.

On the eve of the hostilities, the press service notes, an escape passage was left open for the civilians which was used by local residents left in Khodzhaly after evacuation.

### Mutalibov Decrees Mourning Period

*NC0103192292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Text] The Republic of Azerbaijan is in a state of mourning. Our people are remembering the victims of the tragic incidents in Khodzhaly. President Ayaz Mutalibov has decreed a three-day period of mourning in Azerbaijan beginning 29 February [words indistinct]. The bloody crimes committed by the Armenian bandits in Khodzhaly will never be forgotten. The Armenian bandits have shed the blood of innocent peope in Nagorno-Karabakh as a whole, and now in Khodzhaly.

### Defense Ministry Comments

*NC0103191492 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense has called unfounded reports that armed Armenian units have seized Grad rocket systems from the defenders of Khodzhaly. The ministry said that the unfounded reports are aimed at (?diverting attention) from the mass killing of peaceful Khodzhaly residents. These fabrications, including reports circulated by Armenian information centers that a helicopter belonging to the Azerbaijan national defense forces was destroyed, are unfounded.

### Shusha Under Missile Fire; Situation 'Critical'

*LD0203104192 Moscow TASS in English 1011 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev-TASS]

[Text] Baku Mar 2 (TASS)—The Azeri town of Shusha came under missile fire last night in Nagorno-Karabakh. Considerable damage was reported.

A spokesman for the local authorities told TASS the situation in the town is critical. There are no water supplies, the heating system is not functioning, electricity is turned off now and then. A considerable part of local enterprises were damaged, schools are closed, the hospital is overcrowded with wounded.

Armenians attacked early on Monday [2 March] the settlement of Vezhnali in the Zangali region of Azerbaijan. Several people were reported wounded, some houses were destroyed, according to preliminary information.

### CIS 'Not Involved'

*OW0103165192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1544 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "On the night of March 1 the town of Shusha was attacked by a massed rocket and artillery fire", Azerbaijan's Defense Minister Tadzhaddin Mekhtiyev said in an IF [INTERFAX] interview. According to Mekhtiyev, as of noon on March 1, 30 buildings were destroyed and 7 residential houses burnt to the ground. The fires could not be put out because of the lack of water and fire-engines. Tadzhaddin Mekhtiyev did not have confirmed reports about casualties by the time of the interview.

Meanwhile, the Azeri Interior Ministry reported that 35 people were killed as a result of last night's attack.

The Azeri side blames the Armenian units and a helicopter unit of 366th Stepanakert regiment of CIS Armed Forces for the attack.

Asked by IF to comment on the allegations, the Armenian side flatly denied reports about its involvement in the attack.

A spokesman for the High Command of CIS Armed Forces, in his turn, told IF that "under Marshal Shaposhnikov's order servicemen of 366th Stepanakert Regiment did not take part in the hostilities". "The regiment is getting ready to leave Stepanakert", the spokesman added.

### Agdam Villagers Flee After Missile Attack

*OW2902181492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1554 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azeri sources report that about 20,000 residents of Agdam have left their native town on Saturday [29 February] following a fierce missile and artillery attack last night. On the same night, the regional center of Fizuli which, like Agdam, is outside the mountainous part of Nagorno-Karabakh, was also shelled.

The same sources report that Armenian armed units are getting concentrated along the administrative border between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Artillery pieces are being set up, fire positions prepared and tanks dug in. The concentration of armed units is the strongest along the border of the Lachin region of Azerbaijan, where more than 100 armored vehicles, personnel carriers and tanks, and also heavy artillery andl over 3,000 militants are located. Baku fears that on Sundaiy the regional center may be attacked.

* * * According to reports from Stepanakert, on the night February 28, the regional center of Askeran was shelled from the Agdam side. No information about the victims is available so far.

On behalf of the people, the press center of the parliament of the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh expressed indignation at Marshal Shaposhnikov's "premature decision" to remove frontier posts from the Armenian-Azeri border and to withdraw the 336th motorized infantry regiment from Stepanakert. The document says that this regiment was at least "a symbolic factor" preventing the Azeri army which is fitted out with the most up-to-date equipment, including Grad launchers, from unleashing a large-scale war against the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh.

### Chemical Weapons Dump Could Pose Danger

*LD2702233192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Commentary to A. Gerasimov]

[Text] If one looks at the Nagorno-Karabakh war from the viewpoint of recent political events in the CIS, it becomes clear that the future promises nothing good. To all intents and purposes three by no means equal forces are coming on to the battlefield—namely, the Azerbaijan national army, which has emerged from the united armed forces of the CIS, Armenian combat formations, and the CIS army in the person of the 366th Motorized Rifle Regiment. The striving by Armenia to keep its forces under the command of Marshal Shaposhnikov, which was confirmed in Minsk, places the Azerbaijan side in a highly disadvantageous position in the event of the development of a large-scale battle.

The progress of combat actions shows a tendency to go over from partisan methods to modern warfare. First there were armored vehicles, then the Grad rocket emplacements, and now combat helicopters. What will there be tomorrow? According to our information, the Azerbaijan side has already confiscated from the Soviet army's stores combat supplies for a year of shooting.

In Nagorno-Karabakh there is a chemical weapons dump close to the Turkish border remaining from the times of the confrontation between the USSR and NATO. If Azerbaijan also nationalizes these means of mass destruction the Chernobyl tragedy will seem just a slight misunderstanding. One must assume that the continual bombardments by Grad rocket installations of the locations where the former Soviet army was deployed is making it impossible at present to evacuate the chemical munitions from the area of the conflict. Probably this alone can explain the indecision of the top military leadership of the CIS in respect of withdrawing troops and arsenals from the Transcaucasus. Just how much further the long patience of the regular army, which has been silently losing Russian lads to the bullets and shells, will suffice depends on the temperaments of the opposing sides, which are time after time infringing cease-fire accords.

## Mutalibov Agrees To Combine Forces With CIS

*OW2802172392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1615 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Baku has agreed that general assignment forces stationed in the republic be combined with the CIS Army and be subordinate to both the Commander of the CIS forces Yevgeny Shaposhnikov and the Azeri President. The President's press center said that Ayaz Mutalibov made the announcement at a meeting on February 27 with members of the National Council (parliament) of Azerbaijan, leaders of the ministries and leaders of various political parties and social organizations.

Until recently Azerbaijan had insisted on transfer of military units stationed in the republic to the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan. According to the press center Mutalibov stated that the general assignment forces quartered in Azerbaijan will join the united army of the CIS during a transition period to "ease the tensions between the army and the republic". In the worst case, the president said, conditions for isolation of Azerbaijan, including economic isolation, will be created.

At the same time Mutalibov said that Azerbaijan will continue along the road to creating its own army.

Local observers believe Mutalibov's decision to unite the forces in the republic with the CIS army was motivated by the threat that, in the event the forces are withdrawn, Azerbaijan will be left alone "in the face of aggression from the Armenians and units of the CIS Army stationed in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh".

### Proposal Supported

*NC2802202492 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Text] President Ayaz Mutalibov has held a meeting with social representatives, members of the Azerbijan Supreme Soviet National Council, and leading officials of the republic's ministries, main administrations, and mass media organs. Addressing the group, Mutalibov assessed the situation in Azerbaijan and discussed the developments in the mountainous region in Nagorno-Karabakh. Noting the tense and complex situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, he called on the meeting participants to discuss how to change the existing situation there. President Mutalibov said:

The establishment of an Azerbaijani army is in accord with the constitution and the laws and is required for the defense of our territory and the security of our borders against Armenia's continuous attacks. The units of the former USSR Armed Forces based in Azerbaijan are not helping us in our efforts. In fact, we possess indisputable evidence that the military servicemen of the 366th regiment, based in Khankendy [Stepanakert], are joining the clashes on the side of the Armenian bandits. They are carrying out operations against the peaceful Azerbaijani people. This began happening after Azerbaijan's proposal was rejected at the meeting held in Minsk on 14 February. The republic's leaders informed the meeting that Azerbaijan wished to establish its own armed forces and did not want to participate in a united CIS army.

The republic's leaders are proposing that the armed forces based in Azerbaijan be subject to the CIS command headquarters and the leadership in Azerbaijan so fighting will be avoided. These units will be used to contribute toward the defense of Azerbaijan's borders and territorial integrity. If our efforts are fruitless, our republic will be confronted with a strong military force made up of the large military units of the former USSR Armed Forces based in Armenia. This would be a military [word indistinct] and create a greater threat against Azerbaijan.

The majority of the meeting's participants upheld President Mutalibov's proposal. A number of participants, however, noted that the compromise made them feel uneasy and that it might not help stop the Armenian aggression. Nevertheless, after a lengthy exchange of views, the participants passed President Mutalibov's proposal, saying that as the president of sovereign Azerbaijan he is empowered to adopt responsible decisions at such complex and difficult times for the Azerbaijani people.

## Humanitarian Aid for Nagorno-Karabakh Possible

*LD2802115192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2235 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris, 27 Feb (TASS)—Azerbaijan has "no objections" to the possibility of humanitarian aid being sent to Nagorno-Karabakh, although it does insist that there be monitoring of such aid by the Azerbaijani side. This was stated at a news conference here today by Isa Gambarov, chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, who is visiting France. According to I. Gambarov, when international humanitarian aid began to arrive in Nagorno-Karabakh in 1988, a "large quantity of weapons" was concealed along with these goods. There is a "real war" going on at the moment in Nagorno-Karabakh and in the border regions of Armenia and Azerbaijan, the Azeri parliament's spokesman said. In I. Gambarov's opinion, the assessment in the West of what is going on in the region is incorrect. The Azerbaijani figure said that he had not had any meetings with French officials during his three-day private visit to the country.

## Official Comments on Conflict With Armenia

*AU0103200192 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 29 Feb 92 p 2*

[Daniel Riegger report: "Peace Appeal From Baku"]

[Text] The war in the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh in the former Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan has escalated in the past few days. The fighting is on the verge of developing into a war between the Caucasus states of Armenia and Azerbaijan. According to Azerbaijanian information, more than 100 people were killed during an attack of Armenian troops on the village of Khodzhaly on 26 February. Armenia denies these reports. On 28 February in Frankfurt/Main Isa Gambarov, chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee in the Azerbaijani Parliament, reported on the fighting and advocated a peaceful settlement of the violent conflict.

Gambarov is a member of the Executive Committee of the most important alliance of Azerbaijani parties, the People's Front, which is vehemently criticizing Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov because he is said to advocate too lenient a course in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh.

The parliamentarian from Baku reports that the fighting around Khodzhaly even claimed "far more" than 100 casualties. In contrast to this, Armenia said that the given number of victims was far too high. Gambarov reacts with skepticism to new reports that the Supreme Command of the CIS Armed Forces ordered the withdrawal of its troops from Nagorno-Karabakh. He repeated the Azerbaijani accusations that the CIS troops are supporting Armenian units.

Gambarov thinks that Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati's current efforts for peace do not have great chances for success. "We do not believe that they will be successful." An armistice negotiated by Velayati on 26 February was violated only a few hours later. Both sides are accusing each other of having violated the armistice. However, Velayati has not yet given up his efforts.

In contrast to this, Gambarov thinks that the CSCE initiative is more promising. It has "the most chances to solve the problem." Last week, the CSCE sent observers to the combat area in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Gambarov also rejects reports that Azerbaijan is supported by friendly Turkey with arms deliveries. "Turkey is only providing humanitarian help." However, the politician admits that Azerbaijan urgently needs arms for the establishment of an army of its own, which is currently going on.

Despite the criticism of President Mutalibov, the People's Front advocates a peaceful solution of the fighting for Nagorno-Karabakh, the politician explicitly emphasizes. "We do not believe that Azerbaijan will be able to solve the problem by military means alone." Azerbaijan is prepared to grant "cultural and local autonomy" to the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. However, this must take place within the existing state borders. The Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh are striving for affiliation with Armenia and the revision of the borders, he said.

Referring to reports of the Moscow news agency, ITAR-TASS, that the People's Front canceled a protest demonstration against Mutalibov planned for this weekend [29 February-1 March] for fear that he would establish martial law in the capital, Baku, Gambarov said: "It is possible that there will be martial law, but we are trying to prevent a situation like that in Georgia from happening in Azerbaijan." In the neighboring republic bloody fighting forced President Zviad Gamsakhurdia's deposition. "Either Mutalibov solves his task or we hope that he retires from his office of his own accord."

Gambarov also rejects Western fears that Islamic fundamentalists who might form an alliance with neighboring Iran to transform the former Soviet republic into a theocracy after Tehran's example, are increasingly gaining influence in Azerbaijan. "As a neighboring state, Iran only wants this problem in the Caucasus to be solved; we expect nothing else of Iran but a peaceful solution to the conflict."

## Georgia

### Gamsakhurdia Urges 'Disobedience' in Abkhazia

*LD0103182792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Abkhaz television has shown a video recording of an address by Zviad Gamsakhurdia to the Abkhaz people. The address contains a call for civil disobedience against authorities. Zviad Gamsakhurdia read the text in the Abkhaz language.

### Authorities Ban Demonstrations

*LD0303095292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 2 Mar 92*

[Text] The authorities in Abkhazia, which is part of Georgia, intend to impose special rules of behavior for its citizens starting from today. For one, the rule bans demonstrations and marches in the streets, as well as car traffic after 11 P.M. These measures are being adopted because of mounting tension provoked by supporters of the ousted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

### Gamsakhurdia Doubles, Chechen Terrorists Viewed

*LD0103022292 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1552 GMT 25 Feb 92*

[Report by IPRINDA agency correspondent Zurab Dvali from Tbilisi]

[Text] The answers to the questions that continue to worry the people in the republic—where is former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and what are his designs—remain open. Nonetheless, the results of the alliance with Dzakhar Dudayev, president of Chechnya, proclaimed openly by both sides, were not long in coming. Gela

Lanchava, the commandant of the city of Tbilisi, spoke on Georgian TV late on the evening of 24 February. He stated that, according to Military Council data, a group of 20 terrorists arrived in the city from the Chechen Republic. It is their aim to carry out subversive operations, destabilize the situation in Tbilisi, and cause the population to panic.

The commandant called upon everyone to be vigilant and not to fall prey to provocations. How serious this warning is can be judged by the ceaseless terrorist acts on the railway in western Georgia. It is becoming evident that the former president's supporters will stop at nothing to attain their goal. The place where the president-ghost is himself remains a mystery.

It is interesting that, according to city Commandant Gela Lanchava, it was Zviad Gamsakhurdia's double who arrived in Sukhumi. To what extent this corresponds to reality is difficult to judge.

However, reports that the president has doubles were not infrequently played up before, including during the rallies of the supporters of those who were in power before. Who is to know? Maybe one of these doubles will reveal himself at tomorrow's gathering of Zviad's supporters, due to be held at the Philharmonic building. Or maybe the president himself will make an appearance?

In any case, according to the assurances of Dzhaba Ioseliani, Military Council member, Zviad Gamsakhurdia's spouse, Mrs. Mana Narcheladze Gamsakhurdia, telephoned the Tbilisi Commandant's headquarters and expressed the wish to return to the city accompanied by two foreign journalists. And so, as one prominent fellow countryman of ours is fond of putting it, life is becoming more interesting, life is becoming more joyful. Zurab Dvali, Iprinda independent agency, especially for Mayak.

### Group Says Leaders Disrupt Civil Order

*OW0103182192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1544 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Groznyy on Saturday [29 February] the parliament of the Confederation of Caucasian People issued a statement accusing the Georgian leadership of attempts "to use the Ossetian scenario in Abkhazia". The authors describes Georgia's actions not only as disrupting the establishment of civil peace in the region but also as running counter to the earlier political statements of the current Georgian administration, which "threatens to lead to a civil war in the region."

The parliament and presidential council of the Caucasian confederation expressed readiness to announce total mobilization and send armed units to "defend the honor and dignity of the Abkhaz people."

Djaba Iosseliani, member of the Georgian Military Council, has told IF [INTERFAX] that the confederation's accusations are "inconsistent and groundless." He said the provisional government of Georgia had been holding regular consultations with the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, and that the two sides has reached agreement on a whole number of issues.

According to Iosseliani, it is not clear who elected the parliament of the Caucasian confederation or whose interests the latter represents. The Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia, for one, "has never asked that structure to defend its interests," Iosseliani noted.

### Fighting, Blockade in South Ossetia Continue

*LD0103113592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1009 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 1 Mar (TASS)—Last night local seats of armed confrontation were marked again in the most critical zones in the republics. According to the press center of the information committee, distant approaches to Tskhinval and check points of internal troops were under aimed fire from automatic weapons and sniper rifles from Georgian villages of Nikozi, Tamarasheni, and Ergneti. Ossetian self-defense detachments fired in return at the attackers. No information about casualties has been received.

Tskhinval is going through hard times at present. For more than three weeks it has been in a total transport blockade. All roads going through Georgian villages are constantly fired at by militants. Due to snow avalanches it has proved impossible to arrange the movement of vehicles with humanitarian aid on the main transport artery in the region, the Transcaucasian motor road. Electricity is not being supplied to the town, and gas and water are not reaching residential areas. Foodstuffs and medicines in insignificant quantities are delivered to Tskhinval by helicopter.

Meanwhile, in the opinion of local observers, the contours of a stabilization in the sociopolitical situation in South Ossetia are beginning to show through against the background of continuous firing, the transport blockade, and economic difficulties.

It was reported today that a meeting had taken place in the vicinity of Vladikavkaz between representatives of the two republics at the initiative of the ministers of internal affairs of North Ossetia and Georgia. An accord was reached on the normalization of Ossetian-Georgian relations in South Ossetia and on joint actions by their legal bodies to stablize the situation with regard to crime. This was met with satisfaction in the North Ossetian Republic and in the South Ossetian Republic.

During the course of this discussion the expediency was acknowledged of holding official talks on creating the conditions for the return of 100,000 refugees from South

Ossetia and inner regions of Georgia to the locations where they had previously resided. Those participating in the meeting raised the issue of urgently holding tripartite talks with the participation of delegations from the Republic of Georgia; the North and South Ossetian Republics on the stablization of the situation in South Ossetia; the cessation of combat actions; and the attempts to resolve all the political, economic, and social problems of this region.

### Official Suggests 'Top' Post for Shevardnadze

*OW2802211692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] [Word indistinct] Revival of Georgia Valerian Advadze, 95% of the Georgian population has no idea what kind of catastrophe is threatening the Republic. In an interview with journalists Friday [28 February] in Tbilisi Advadze said that this catastrophe can be prevented by inviting Eduard Shevardnadze to Tbilisi.

Advadze said that the ex-minister of Foreign Affairs of the former USSR should be offered a top position in Georgia. For example, the professor said Shevardnadze could head the committee on revival or salvation of Georgia.

In addition, the heir to the Georgian throne Constantin Bagrationi and his family arrived in Tbilisi Thursday [26 February] evening from Rome. On Friday he will meet with Patriarch of all Georgia Ilya the Second.

### Sigua, Officials Comment on Current Issues

*OW2902012892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1135 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Series of five interviews with Georgian political leaders, including interview with interim Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua by INTERFAX correspondent Vitaliy Djibuti, as well as interviews with Independence Party leader Irakli Tsereteli, Military Council member Dzhaba Ioseliani, Charter-91 party Chairman Tedo Paatashvili, and Rustaveli society Chairman Akakiy Bakradze; places and dates not given; from the 28 February "Nation & Society" feature—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] We dedicate today's edition to Georgia, or more exactly, to post-Gamsakhurdia Georgia. Prime Minister of the Georgian interim government Tengiz Sigua tells IF's [INTERFAX's] Vitaliy Djibuti about prospects for the development of the republic. The forthcoming parliamentary elections in Georgia will determine the policy of the republic for the near future. Today we present opinions of the three leading political organizations of Georgia which intend to take part in the elections. You will also get acquainted with Akakiy Bakradze, one of the most popular politicians in Georgia before Gamsakhurdia came to power. After the ouster of Gamsakhurdia, Bakradze once again appears on the political arena with his own program.

#### GEORGIA AFTER GAMSAKHURDIA: CHANGES ARE COMING

Georgian Interim Prime-Minister Tengiz Sigua has given an exclusive interview to IF.

Corr [Correspondent]: Mr. Sigua, what was your family's attitude towards the struggle with Zviad Gamsakhurdia that you joined?

Tengiz Sigua: My family supported me. We saw Georgia being driven to disaster. It was in complete isolation. No reforms were carried out. My wife and daughter had to hide at our relations' for five months. Those difficulties encouraged my family to support me.

Corr: Do you think Western investments can improve the Georgian economy? What guarantee can you offer in exchange?

T.S.: We started negotiations with a number of Western countries on that matter. Besides, we have prepared documents for Georgia to join the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. We hope that we will see an influx of foreign capital to Georgia when we have political stability. When I was in Moscow I signed a document under which our republic will have part of the U.S. credits to the CIS. They will be used to purchase food and agricultural raw materials. We have already received first investments. Besides, a large number of joint ventures with Western countries have been set up in the republic. They will be contributing part of their hard currency income to revitalizing our ruined economy.

Corr.: How do you see your visit to Moscow?

T.S.: It was a success. I had talks with the representatives of all CIS leaders on economic cooperation for this year.

Corr.: Zviad Gamsakhurdia failed to win international recognition for Georgia. What were his mistakes and what do you do to avoid them?

T.S.: The main reasons for the world's reluctance to recognize our country were that Gamsakhurdia failed to establish any democratic institutions or carry out political or economic reforms. But our provisional government began to fulfill from the outset the commitments to democracy declared by the former leadership back in 1990. Our government has implemented a number of political and economic reforms over the past month. The Georgian Ministry of Justice began to register political parties and movements banned during Gamsakhurdia's rule. We declared the freedom of the press. We do not have a newspaper of our own. We began agrarian reform in earnest and are already distributing land. The reform of housing has also been given the start. We handed all homes over to the people and are going to privatize our

industries. That is why the whole civilized world's attitude towards our republic has changed for the better. Twenty-five states have recognized Georgia over the month after Gamsakhurdia's escape.

Corr.: What is your attitude towards the troops stationed in Georgia?

T.S.: President Yeltsin has extended Russia's jurisdiction over the former Soviet Army. We think that in the first place we should sign a bilateral treaty with Russia on economic affairs followed by a political treaty. Only then we will be ready to start negotiations on the army units stationed in Georgia.

Corr.: How do you assess the Russian government's activities?

T.S.: I believe that Yegor Gaydar is on the right track. There is no way out but to implement the unpopular reforms.

Corr.: How much time will the reforms take in Georgia?

T.S.: To carry out the reforms as quick as possible four measures must be taken. First, we must start privatization. Second, we must liberalize prices. Then we must provide social guarantees for the people. Last, we must tighten up credit policies. All those steps must be implemented in one package. I think price rises will go through three stages. The first will come at the end of February and is going to be the most difficult. The second is due in July and the third, in September or October. After that we expect stabilization and even a slump in prices, when there will be enough goods on the shelves. It will take this year and the first half of 1993 to bring this about.

Corr.: Does your government have a concrete economic program?

T.S.: Yes, we have one and we are constantly updating it.

Corr.: What do you think of the future constitutional structure of Georgia? Will it be a constitutional monarchy, parliamentary republic or presidential one?

T.S.: I believe that Georgia must stay a parliamentary republic for a while. Parliament should rule the country until democratic institutions are established and political and economic reforms are implemented. At a later date the Georgian people will decide its constitutional reforms.

Corr.: How do you feel about Eduard Shevardnadze's arrival and his joining the republic's political life?

T.S.: We have declared that Georgia is open to everybody. Eduard Shevardnadze has international prestige and may contribute a lot to the process of republic's rehabilitation. He has a good chance to take a high position in our institutions of power. The Georgian Democratic Party has elected him its chairman and is likely to nominate him its candidate at the coming parliamentary elections.

## IRAKLI TSERETELI: WE DON'T FEAR DESTABILIZATION

An interview with the leader of the Georgian Nationalist Independence Party.

IF note: A well-known dissident born in 1965, Irakli Tsereteli is a philologist. He was a political prisoner in 1983 and 1984 and was arrested together with Gamsakhurdia, Kostava and Chanturia after the April 9, 1989, crackdown in Tbilisi. A founder of the Nationalist Congress of Georgia, Tsereteli tended the roots of a movement for national liberation in Georgia.

Corr.: Mr. Tsereteli, are you in opposition vis-a-vis the interim government when you accuse it of "being overly loyal" in its decision-making practices? What do you mean?

Irakli Tsereteli: I mean that the interim government is openly currying favor with Moscow. The new government clearly lacks commitment to principles. It has yet to define the status of the occupation forces on Georgian territory.

Corr.: You suggest that the next parliamentary elections should not take place earlier than next autumn. Won't this delay further destabilize the situation in the republic?

I.T.: We aren't afraid of any destabilization. If we need to, we'll carry destabilization to such an extreme that everything will appear "child's play" in comparison with it. Our party has plenty of experience in this respect. As for the elections, the interim government should set a date. It is necessary to end with all kinds of political adventurism and get down to business. First of all, we need the constitution back in effect, we need to define the status of the occupation forces, disband all illegitimate troops and establish a national army under a single commander.

Corr.: You advocated the boycott of the previous parliamentary elections. Now that Georgia's constitution of 1921 is back in effect, will you go to the polls?

I.T.: If th. elections are truly democratic, our party will certainly participate and, I hope, win.

Corr.: Would you collaborate with Eduard Shevardnadze?

I.T.: I'm not against any aid to Georgia, no matter who offers it, particularly now that we have no alternative. As for Shevardnadze's participation in the country's political life, everything will depend on his position. We don't yet know it. If we agree, we are willing to collaborate.

Corr.: Can constitutional monarchy be restored in Georgia?

I.T.: Bunkum. When we mention putting constitution of 1921 back in effect, it is necessary to remember more than just the legal aspect. There is yet another, equally important, aspect. It is common knowledge that

Georgia lost some of its territory after 1921. The restoration of the constitution enables us to claims to part of the Azeri, Turkish and Russian territories. If we choose monarchy, the reclamation of our lands is out of the question. Overall, the idea of monarchy is not a bad one, but Georgia is not yet ready to have this institution.

## DZHABA IOSELIANI: THE SOVIET MILITARY DID NOT HELP US

An interview with a member of the Georgian Military Council and leader of the Mkhedrioni, a public organization.

Corr.: Mr. Ioseliani, rumors abound concerning Mkhedrioni. What is your organization in reality?

Dzhaba Ioseliani: Mkhedrioni was born under communist regime in Georgia when the movement for national liberation was taking its first steps. For a long time it operated underground. Both communists and the so-called patriots of Gamsakhurdia, actually Nazis, harassed us. So the organization chose the tactic of guerrilla warfare. It was not until the Gamsakhurdia regime had been toppled that we began to operate openly.

Corr.: What was the Mkhedrioni established for?

D.I.: To help Georgia become independent and free.

Corr.: You said in an interview in December 1990 that the Mkhedrioni "numbers around 5000 or 6000 who had small arms." You also noted that you could muster up to 12,000 men. Now that Georgia has seen some fighting, do you think you made the right assessment of the strength of the forces?

D.I.: To an extent. We should not forget that the Georgian leadership subjected us to a severe persecution over the last two years. Around 100 of Mkhedrioni commanders and leaders were arrested, and many hid away all over the republic. It was difficult to muster the people on short notice. When I was released from jail on December 27, we had only 12 men. Next day, we already had 400. This illustrates our potential.

Corr.: Your enemies say 100% of the Mkhedrioni members are criminals.

D.I.: Slander. Some of our boys do have records, and some may do wrong even now, but it takes all kinds of people to make a company. You can always find one creep among a crowd of several thousand. By the way, law enforcement structures are also full of criminals. Half the police force take bribes, and the Georgian procurator's office should have been given the boot long ago. And then, I did jail time too. And I'm proud of my past. During the communist times most of those who were in jail were better people than the KGB, police and party brass.

Corr.: Where did you get the funds to buy weapons and armored vehicles?

D.I.: We don't have armored vehicles. Our weapons are old. We got some from the republican national guard and capture some in fighting. Gamsakhurdia's allegations that the Soviet military supplied us with arms are rubbish.

Corr.: Does Georgia wait for Shevardnadze's arrival?

D.I.: Yes, I sent him a message to invite him here.

Corr.: In which capacity?

D.I.: First as our compatriot and with time, we'll find out.

## TEDO PAATASHVILI: WE ARE OPPOSED TO ANY UNDEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

Interview with the board chairman of the party Charter-91.

IF note: Paatashvili became active on the political scene in 1987. He was chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet's parliamentary commission for foreign relations. A board member of the society of Ilyah the Righteous that was headed by Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Corr.: You were one of the chief ideologists of the Roundtable-Free Georgia which was headed by Zviad Gamsakhurdia. What made you change your mind on the ex-president?

Tedo Paatashvili: I worked on the political program of the former Georgian leadership and am convinced that the document was a good one. But real politics took a different route after the president's election. Nearly all election pledges our bloc had made were broken. The president and his following took a hard line that ruled out any liberalization in politics or economics. The republican leaders developed a "political color-blindness", being only capable of telling between two colors: white, Gamsakhurdia's flock, and black, his enemies. And the number of the government's "enemies" increased with each passing day. While the tough line could be rationalized as the republic's fight for freedom against a communist leadership in the Kremlin, this policy became senseless after the collapse of the August putsch in Moscow. Following the collapse of the communist center, we and a number of delegates came out for the convocation of an emergency session of the republican parliament. We proposed changes to our clumsy policy in view of political changes in the former USSR, but to no avail. When firearms were used to suppress a rally in Tbilisi on September 2, 1991, we, a group of parliamentarians, expressed resolute protest against such methods and said openly that we joined the opposition. Our parliament faction named Charter-91 developed into a political organization under the same name in February 1992.

Corr.: What were your relationships with Georgia's current authorities?

T.P.: Following a severe suppression of a Tbilisi rally against Gamsakhurdia, we are opposed to the interim

government too. As previously, Georgia is being torn between two forces that use arms to defend their positions, not search for a political dialogue. It should be noted for justice' sake that some of the steps the interim government is taking are democratic. But in general, there's no speaking of democracy in Georgia when the republic is in a state of emergency. We must create democratic structures first.

Corr.: What do you think should be done first of all?

T.P.: The legitimate power structures must be restored as fast as possible. The new parliamentary elections have been set for autumn. Until that time the republic cannot exist without top legislative bodies. Today many people do not trust the former parliament, but it is necessary to bring back to power its presidium at least, which will incorporate representatives of all political forces in Georgia. A standing Praesidium will be useful in the resolution of both political and economic questions in this difficult period.

### AKAKIY BAKRADZE: GOVERNMENTAL REFORMS WILL HELP US COPE WITH THE CRISIS

Interview with the chairman of the society Rustaveli.

IF note: In contrast to radical Georgian nationalists Gamsakhurdia, Kostava, Chanturia and Tsereteli, Akakiy Bakradze believed that Georgia's future lay in the cultivation of ties with Russia and other republics of the former USSR, with which Russia had close relations. When the political bloc named "Roundtable-Free Georgia" came to power, Bakradze was harassed; in fact, ex-president Gamsakhurdia accused him of betrayal of national liberation movement. Bakradze had to leave the political scene.

Corr.: Mr. Bakradze, you said in an interview about the Tbilisi uprising, "What was destined to take place took place. This is now history. The main thing now is to make the right conclusions." So let's make them.

Akakiy Bakradze: O.K. You will remember that the national liberation movement came to power in Georgia on October 28, 1990. The beginning breakup of the Soviet Union required us to take resolute strides to carry out comprehensive radical reforms. However, the new Georgian leaders did not make up their mind to undertake cardinal measures. This sounded the death knell for the national liberation movement which, instead of making progress, began to mark time, and that led to a collapse from inside. The struggle for national liberation deteriorated into that between classes and parties. And a struggle between classes and parties normally produces the results it has produced in Georgia.

Corr.: What must be done on a priority basis for the movement to stop marking time?

A.B.: It is a sad fact that everything must be done in Georgia on a priority basis. One does not know what to being with. [sentence as received] Yet, we must lay down the chief objectives. I don't believe we can lose time on sorting out our relations with the CIS which, in my opinion, is a stillborn baby and will soon vanish. I believe that it is already impossible to reverse the disintegration of the Russian Federation. It should be noted that what is taking place in the CIS and Russia will have an immediate impact on the destiny of Georgia. We must be able to make forecasts. Another factor should be taken into account. An alliance of Muslim states is taking shape. Georgia and Armenia are encircled by them. Both Georgia and Armenia may stand to gain from their geographic location, but only in case we are smart enough not to plunge back into the hysteria of rallies and end internal strife. No one will lend us a hand unless we offer guarantees of stability.

Corr.: Many people say today that the restoration of monarchy in Georgia can stabilize society. Can it?

A.B.: This is a far-fetched idea, I believe. Can one speak of monarchy now that the country is in the grip of hunger and dislocation? It may be possible in two hundred years or so. But there is a silver lining here, too. The large-scale reforms the interim government is pursuing may help us cope with the crisis. I would not like to make forecasts, but I believe Georgia will require another 25 years to join the family of civilized nations. We must only be patient.

### Abkhaz Parliament Deputies Discuss Situation

*LD2902183192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 92*

[Report by correspondent K. Bzhaniya; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The sociopolitical and economic situation and the crime problem in Abkhazia are rapidly approaching the critical point beyond which chaos normally begins. One can already say that starvation is gradually happening in the republic. Gamsakhurdia's supporters among the local Georgian population have ensured that Abkhazia has been deprived of railway communications with the outside world with increasingly frequent sabotage of the railways that carry foodstuffs and fuel for automobile and air transportation from the Russian Federation and other regions of the CIS.

Deputies of the Abkhaz parliament were forced right at the start of today's session to discuss a question that was not on the agenda: the question of providing the republic's population with bread, supplies of which are now down to two days.

But what is perhaps the most important question that is a constant worry to the republic's inhabitants who are weary of robbery and violence was resolved. The parliament adopted a decision to bring in a special regime of conduct for citizens on the territory of Abkhazia from 2 March, which envisages a curfew for people and transportation between 2300 and 0600.

At the session it was suggested that there may be an alliance between the provisional government of Georgia and the leaders of the former ruling bloc—Roundtable/Free Georgia—aimed at deliberately destabilizing the situation in Abkhazia in order to have a pretext for introducing a state of emergency in Abkhazia using, of course, the forces of the Georgian provisional government.

### Heir to Throne Urges Democratic Elections

*LD0203023492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 1 Mar 92*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A letter by the heir to the throne, Jorge Bagrationi, has been published in Georgia. He now lives in Madrid.

It concerns the restoration of a constitutional monarchy in Georgia. He does not refute such a possibility, but believes this should be preceded by genuinely democrtic elections. From the news agency's text, it is unclear whether or not he means the election of a tsar.

### Some Categories of Prisoners Granted Amnesty

*LD2802102192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2114 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Tbilisi—On February 27, Georgia's Military Council granted an amnesty. The republic's courts will pardon prisoners sentenced for any term of imprisonment, with the exception of persons convicted for deliberate murder, raping, embezzlement of state or public property in especially large volumes and those who have committed other grave crimes. Not subject to amnesty are also those wanted by the police, those evading appearance in court or investigating agencies and also inmates who have escaped from places of detention. The amnesty will also apply to convicts whose penalty does not involve deprivation of freedom: as well as persons on parole or with suspended sentences. Proceedings on all criminal cases not as yet examined in a court of law, initiated for crimes committed before the amnesty took effect, have been stopped. Those prisoners who will not be absolved from penalty under this amnesty, will have the remaining part of their prison sentences halved.

Under a resolution of the Military Council, the amnesty provisions will be executed within three months.

## Estonia

### Prime Minister Comments on Russian Trade Ties

*OW2802213192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1910 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia's Prime Minister Tiit Vahi has told BALTFAX that the protocol on the principles of trade and economic cooperation between Russia and Estonia, signed February 28 in Moscow, is no guarantee against continued fuel crisis in Estonia. "The fuel problem will be resolved once and for all only when the Estonian economy will be developed enough to buy fuel at world prices", he maintained.

The premier was emphatic that the agreement calls for purchases of fuel in Russia, and not for any free-of-charge gifts. Mr. Vahi said that his republic cannot pay foreign exchange for the fuel, and therefore has to deliver goods to Russia.

Asked whether Estonia is in a position to pay for all the raw materials and fuel it needs, Mr. Vahi said that in his opinion, "Estonia has everything necessary to become independent not only politically, but economically as well".

Estonia's Minister of Trade Aleksandr Sikkal added that both sides had agreed that the indicative lists of goods that had been signed "are not definitive" and would followed by a series of new agreements. In particular, the minister said, the two sides have raised such issues at today's meeting as the use by Russia of Estonia's ports, exchange of fishing quotas, and construction of Estonian firms of roads in Siberia (which has been going on for over 10 years already—BF [BALTFAX]).

Late on February 28, Estonia's premier also met with representatives of Central Asian republics in Moscow.

Before the meeting, he told a BALTFAX correspondent that "Estonia has recently officially recognized the independence of CIS countries, and is very much interested in maintaining normal relations, including trade relations, with Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and other Central Asian republics."

The prime minister cited the republic's light industry, which imports most the cotton it needs from the Central Asia, as just one example why it is necessary develop such links.

### Details of Agreement Issued

*OW2802165192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1350 GMT 29 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar and Estonian Prime Minister Tiit Vahi signed a protocol of the bilateral trade agreement for 1992 and three supplements in Moscow February 28. The protocol provides for duty-free transit of cargoes across the territories of the two countries and payments in rubles only for loading and unloading. The supplements include lists of goods for trade and amount of shipments, as well as the "small clearing" list with settling in dollars. Under the small clearing system, Russia will supply to Estonia gasoline, diesel fuel, black oil, while Estonia will provide Russia with meat, fish, air cooling units for oil rigs. Russian supplies under the small clearing are estimated at $157 million and Estonian ones—at $151 million.

Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar told BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent that Estonia is interested in raising quotas on Russian supplies. "We are also interested in that, but under the condition that Estonia will increase quotas on goods that we are now buying for hard currency," Gaydar stressed. He also said that Russia and Estonia are going to lift restrictions on direct trade between enterprises on many items.

Premier Vahi told BF that over the past two months the two states have virtually not traded. "Trade will develop further "according to mutual possibilities and needs," he added.

He also said that he will meet in Moscow with permanent representatives of Central Asian member states of the CIS.

On Friday [28 February] evening Vahi is to return to Tallinn.

### Parliament, Committee Differ Over Citizenship

*OW2802181992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1350 GMT 28 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian Committee has announced that the February 26 resolution of the Estonian Supreme Council "On the application of the law on citizenship" was "invalid". The Committee issued a statement Thursday [27 February] declaring invalid those articles of the parliament's resolution "changing the 1938 law on citizenship, broadening the range of people eligible for Estonian citizenship and legalizing the colonists' presence in Estonia". In particular, the point of contention is the counting date of naturalization term. The Committee believes that instead of March 30, 1990, (the first day of work of the present Supreme Council), the counting should have been started on August 20, 1991 (the day when a resolution restoring the independence of Estonia was adopted).

The Committee says only the State Assembly (not existent yet) has the right to introduce changes into the law on citizenship.

### Role in Dividing Former USSR's Debt Cited

*LD2702142392 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1300 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Excerpt] Tiit Reiman, deputy director general of the Republic of Estonia Foreign Economic Department, said to the Baltic News Service that as Estonia is not a legal successor of the USSR it cannot have a say alongside CIS states in the dividing of that state's foreign debt. Estonia plans to resolve matters related to the USSR foreign debt through the talks to be held with Russia and other CIS states. A note to this effect was introduced by Estonia into the joint communique drawn up at the end of the consultative meeting of the fourteen former USSR republics in Kiev on 25 February. [passage omitted]

### Finance Minister on State Expenditure Situation

*LD0103170392 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 27 Feb 92*

[Excerpts] Today the 65th session of the Supreme Council was concluded. The last plenary session adopted a resolution on the expenditures of the 1992 state budget. The government will be allowed to use up to 595 million rubles [R] in March as expenditures from the state budget. Gunnar Paal, our correspondent, interviewed Rein Miller, finance minister.

[Paal] [Passage omitted] How are our monetary affairs at the moment?

[Miller] Monetary affairs are as they are. In fact the situation is this: January demonstrated, say, about our revenue that on the whole revenue is being collected into both the state budget and local budgets, and in somewhat larger amounts than provisional forecasts said. But the expenditure side is a much more complicated matter, and that in particular with respect to liquid fuel, gas, fuel oil, and various other kinds of fuel, with a changeover—either it is to prices close to world market prices or world market prices; in our trade with Russia. Tomorrow will show.

Tomorrow, Estonian and Russian Government delegations will meet, with those issues on the agenda, and for this reason we would like to say that to forecast expenditures today is practically impossible. [Passage omitted]

It has been proposed by the Ministry of Finance that of the revenues in January, R125 million would be allocated to the government additionally and out of this nearly 25 million would be channeled into local governments as additional support; and of course, we are not short of problems.